THE LIBERATOR:
PUBLISHED EVERY FRIDAY,
AT THE ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE, No. 25 CORNHILL.

Oliver Johnson, General Agent:

☞ To whom all remittances are to be made, and all letters addressed, relating to the pecuniary concerns of the paper.
☞ TERMS.—$2 50 per annum, payable in advance; or $3 00 at the expiration of six months.
☞ Letters and communications must be POST PAID
☞ ADVERTISEMENTS making less than a square will be inserted three times for 75 cts.: one square for $1 00.
☞ NOTE.—Mr. ISAAC KNAPP, the late publisher, having transferred his interest in the subscription-list to Mr. GARRISON, for two years from the first of January, 1840, the pecuniary concerns of the LIBERATOR are now under the direction and supervision of a committee, consisting of the following gentlemen: FRANCIS JACKSON, SAMUEL PHILBRICK, ELLIS GRAY LORING, EDMUND QUINCY, WILLIAM BASSETT.

THE LIBERATOR

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WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD---OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

OLIVER JOHNSON, Printer.

VOL. X.---NO. 17. BOSTON, FRIDAY, APRIL 24, 1840. WHOLE NO. 486.

COMMUNICATIONS.

Letter from Gerrit Smith to Henry C. Wright.

PETERBORO', April 1, 1840.

HENRY C. WRIGHT:

MY DEAR BROTHER—Your letter of the 12th ult. in the Liberator, is before me. Whilst I thank you for the kind spirit in which it is written, you will excuse me for declining to accept the issue, which you tender to me.

Your letter to me embodies a correspondence between yourself and Myron Holley, Esq. on five points. Interesting as this correspondence truly is, I do not see the propriety of your calling my especial attention to it. Least of all can I see the propriety for Gerrit Smith) can stand justified in your remarks in the (Bloomfield) Convention, and in your letter (to Mr. Goodell of 8th Feb. 1840)—i. e. *by* asserting that the above five views (meaning Mr. Holley's views on the above five points) were assumed as true in the anti-slavery enterprise.' I have not said that they were thus assumed. By turning to my letter, you will see precisely what it does say. It says: 'He (Mr. Wright) declared it no light offence against the proprieties of time and place, that Mr. Holley had said, in the course of one of his speeches, that abolitionists ought, by the suitable exercise of the right of suffrage, to contribute to maintain the government and republican institutions of their country.' Now, it seems to me to be very unreasonable for you to charge upon me the necessity of declaring, that all these things are thus assumed, merely because the above lines are found in my letter, and because in the allusion which I made in the Convention, in remarks not to exceed two minutes in length, to the collision between Mr. Holley and yourself, I denied your right to arraign him for saying, that 'abolitionists ought, by the suitable exercise of the right of suffrage, to contribute to maintain the government and republican institutions of their country.'

But you say, that you did not arraign Mr. Holley for what my letter says you did. And as I am bound in justice and generosity to admit, that you know better than I do what you did say, I retract that part of my letter, and charge it to my misapprehension rather than to your lips. You will see, however, by the letter of your worthy friend, J. J. Thomas in the Friend of Man of the 11th inst. that he fell into a like misapprehension with myself.

I might here close my letter; but I had better take issue with you on one of the points in your letter—a point which you, no doubt, consider virtually identical with the differences between Mr. Holley and yourself; and one of the points on which the two anti-slavery societies of Massachusetts are arrayed against each other.

If I understand your letter, it says, that the Constitution of the American Anti-Slavery Society takes the ground, 'that the duty of voting is left to each individual to decide for himself.' Now, I suppose you are willing to admit, that if the Constitution makes an unconditional recognition of the duty of voting, it was you who 'dragged' the question of non-resistance into the Bloomfield Convention. On the other hand, I admit, that it was not you who 'dragged' it in, provided the recognition is the qualified one, which your letter says it is.

I am, and have long been, confined with sickness: but, happily I made an argument on this point, when I was in health. To that I beg leave to refer you, as I have several other persons of late. You will find it in my letter to Mr. Garrison of the 7th of June, 1839, published in the Liberator. If you can overthrow the positions in that letter, I will admit that I had no right to charge you with 'dragging' non-resistance into the Bloomfield Convention. If you cannot, you will not object to lie under that charge.

Your letter clearly implies, that the Constitution of the American A. S. Society regards voting as a duty. No unbiassed reader of that instrument, and of its great authoritative interpreter, the Declaration of Sentiments, will deny, that the Constitution as clearly recognizes the duty of voting, as it does the existence of God. Nor will such a reader affirm, that there is any thing in the Constitution to make the duty of voting, any more than that of acknowledging God, conditioned on the choice of the members of the Society. If, therefore, when a resolution, acknowledging our obligations to God, is under consideration in one of our anti-slavery meetings, an infidel member should rise and object to its general character, and demand that it be so qualified, as to except himself and fellow-infidels from its scope, I see not, that he would manifest any less respect for the Constitution than you and Mr. Garrison do, when under the like circumstances, you demand (not simply request) that the Constitution shall be so interpreted, as to make its requirements hinge on the various and varying circumstances of its members. The waves of the sea would not be more uncertain than the terms of a Constitution, under the principles of interpretation set up by the old Massachusetts Society: and I have often wondered how such a man as Ellis Gray Loring, who knows so well the just views of interpretation in such cases, can forbear to enter his remonstrance against your gross error. Why will he consent, that the Society which he loves—which I love—and which all abolitionists should love—shall put a construction on the Constitution of the American A. S. Society, which shall leave that instrument but a nose of wax in the hands of those who would fashion it to their respective fancies?

You will bear in mind, that I am saying nothing of the merits of any of the doctrines of non-resistance; and nothing in defence of the *propriety*, only of the *constitutionality* of passing resolutions, or expressing sentiments, in anti-slavery meetings, which conflict with those doctrines.

You and Mr. Garrison are the last men, who should claim the right of going in anti-slavery meetings, beyond the plain letter of the Constitution of the American A. S. Society, in behalf of 'non-resistance,' or any thing else. You remember the victory so grateful to yourself which was obtained at the anniversary meeting of that Society last spring, in the vote that declared women might be members of it. But how was that victory obtained? It was shown clearly by the minority, aside from the letter of the Constitution of the Society, that it was not the intention of the framers of it, that women should take a part in the proceedings of its meetings. But the majority contended triumphantly, that the letter of the Constitution was plain, and that, being so, it was not competent to go behind, or aside of, the letter to learn the intention of the framers of that instrument.

You refer to the injustice I did you in my letter to Mr. Goodell. For my views on that point, I beg leave to refer you to my published reply to J. C. Hathaway's criticism on that letter. Let me here, however, repeat what I have often said, that not one line of that letter was written under the influence of a spirit of unkindness—that I loved you and brother Jackson, when I wrote it—that I love you now—and hope to love you always.

I observe your allusion to my remark about the introduction of the 'Massachusetts quarrel' into the ranks of the New-York abolitionists. At the same time, that I trust you will be perfectly satisfied with my explanation of this matter in my letter to Mr. Hathaway; candor requires me to say, that the probability that your visit will have the 'effect' of introducing that quarrel into our ranks, appears far stronger to me now than it did when I wrote my account of the Bloomfield Convention. Hitherto, so far as I am aware, the general doctrine of the duty of abolitionists to vote has not been gainsayed in anti-slavery meetings in this State. But, hereafter it will be. Hereafter there will be a party of abolitionists in this State, who will insist on their right, even in anti-slavery meetings, to claim that this doctrine be subjected to non-resistance limitations or qualifications. I speak advisedly. Your speech in the Bloomfield Convention will constitute an era in the history of New-York abolition. To that speech will be dated back the unhappy division, that has already begun to show itself in our ranks.

I say not that you, or Mr. Garrison, or any other person, has *designed* to 'engraft non-resistance on the anti-slavery enterprise;' but who is so blind as not to be able to see, that the thing has been done? In a late address of the Board of Managers of the Mass. A. S. Society, it is charged, that a 'movement that was calculated to divide our ranks, was a violent attack on those abolitionists, whose religious scruples do not allow them to participate directly in the politics of the country, by using the elective franchise.' Whoever have made such an attack, will not find a defender in myself. But the future historian of our anti-slavery enterprise will omit a very material fact, if he fail to mention, that a 'movement,' that was not merely 'calculated to divide our ranks,' but which did actually divide them, was made by those who having, from the organization of the American A. S. Society down to about the year 1838, both favored and expressed, in anti-slavery meetings, the general doctrine of the duty of voting, suddenly took their stand in such meetings against that doctrine. How can Mr. Garrison, in the face of this fact; how can Mr. Garrison, who in 1833 subscribed the Constitution of the American A. S. Society, and wrote the accompanying Declaration of Sentiments, both instruments recognizing the duty of voting;—how can Mr. Garrison, who, in 1834, nominated in the Liberator, and voted for Amasa Walker for Congress;—how can Mr. Garrison, who, in the meeting of the American A. S. Society in 1836, made a warm and powerful speech in favor of political action;—how can he have the assurance to ascribe the new 'movement' on the subject of voting to any others than himself and his fellow 'non-resistants?' Verily, such measureless draughts on human credulity, and such confidence in the inexhaustibleness of one's stock of reputation for ingenuousness and infallibility, are rarely witnessed. Perhaps Mr. Garrison has forgotten the occasion of the speech in favor of political action. It was on my motion to cut off all that part of your own resolution, following the word 'slave trade.' The whole resolution reads as follows:

'Resolved, That the admission of the territory of Arkansas into the Union as a slaveholding State, would justly subject this nation afresh to the reprobation and abhorrence of mankind, and to the frowns and judgments of Almighty God; that it ought to be resisted by all who have hearts of flesh, as an impious attempt to extend and increase the horrors and heathenism of slavery and the slave trade; that we invoke Congress by every consideration of humanity and justice, to refuse its admission on such terms; and that we call upon the people of the land to sustain them in the discharge of this high duty to God, their country and the world.'

I objected to the latter part of the resolution on the ground that it favored the policy of carrying our cause to the polls; and that I thought it wrong to mingle our cause, especially in its infancy, with politics. The speech in favor of political action with which Mr. Garrison followed me was so animated and convincing, that he carried nearly the whole meeting with him. The revival of this fact will, I am aware, be of no service to my reputation with those who set consistency above every other virtue. They will see fresh evidence in it, that, in the language of Pierpont's 'apostrophe to the North Star,' I 'keep turning, turning:'—but they will at least admit, that it is better for me to acknowledge my 'turning, turning,' than to follow the example of those, who charge on others the 'turning, turning,' of which they are themselves guilty.

One word more about 'non-resistance.' The saddling of the anti-slavery cause with it has greatly damaged not only that cause, but 'non-resistance' itself. The anti-slavery cause is comparatively popular. I had almost said, that it commends itself to the consciences of all men. But the doctrines of 'non resistance' are extremely odious; and are rejected by almost all men. Admit, if you please, that these doctrines are the sublimest truths. That they are, may be the very reason of their peculiar offensiveness—the very reason why their progress in this fallen world will be exceedingly slow. Now, to insist that abolition shall move on but 'pari passu' with 'non resistance,' is to subject the flying-footed antelope to the same yoke with the slow-paced ox. To connect the odiousness of 'non resistance' with the popularity of 'abolition,' is but to diminish the popularity of the one, without lessening the odiousness of the other:—nay, it is to increase that odiousness—for it is historically as well as philosophically true, that our dislike toward an object is increased, and puts on the type of disgust, when that object is foisted into associations with whose gratefulness it stands in contrast.

But I can make my letter no longer. Confined as I am and have long been with sickness, it is a tax on my diminished strength to write even a short letter. But this letter will be long enough, if those who read it will also put themselves to the pains of reading the explanatory letters to Mr. Garrison, Mr. Goodell, and Mr. Hathaway, to which I have referred.

Your friend and brother,
GERRIT SMITH.

Letter from Gerrit Smith.

PETERBORO', April 6, 1840.

MY DEAR SIR:

I have read in the Liberator of 27th ultimo, your reply to my letter of 7th June last. That my rejoinder may be brief, I will pass over all those portions of your reply, which are not strictly pertinent to the point in controversy between us. Hence, I will make no answer to what you say of my imputation on your integrity, unless it be to remark, that what you say on that subject is utterly unwarranted by an unbiassed interpretation of the language of my letter. The spirit of that letter toward yourself is eminently respectful, kind and generous. Hence, too, I will say nothing about the proscription of which you say James G. Birney, A. A. Phelps, &c. &c. are guilty; and nothing about the 'faction,' as you denominate a portion of the Massachusetts abolitionists; and nothing of your reference to my views of 'the heaven-born principles of non-resistance,' otherwise than to say, in the face of the recent efforts to convict me of having attacked those principles, that not one line, contemptuous or reproachful of them, can be traced to my life or pen.

The issue between us is, substantially, whether in a meeting where the obligations of the Constitution of the American Anti-Slavery Society are recognized, it is proper to forbid the unconditional assertion of the doctrine, that to go to the polls is a duty. If it is proper, then you are right, and I am wrong. If it is proper, then I have wronged Henry C. Wright; but, if improper, then he has wronged me.

You say that the resolution, that you voted against, is not consistent with the resolution which the Society had just adopted. That is not the question between us. The adopted resolution may have been a generous concession to the feelings of non-resistant brethren, which the Constitution does not warrant. I do not, however, say that it is duty. The question between us is, whether the resolution you voted against is in accordance with the Constitution.

I need not repeat the arguments in my letter of 7th June to show, that the Constitution regards political action as a duty. The distinction you set up, viz: that the Constitution makes political action the duty of some persons, and not of others, I have not the optics, and I wonder that you have, to discover in that instrument. The Constitution makes it the duty of 'THE *Society*' to endeavor to induce right legislation. But, says the non-resistant: 'I can obey the injunction of the Constitution on this point, by the exercise of suasive power.' Not so fast. You overlook four words. The Society is to endeavor to accomplish this object '*in a constitutional way*.' But, says he: 'I can, by the exercise of the right of petition endeavor 'in a constitutional way,' to induce right legislation.' 'Admitted'—and so you can, by the exercise of the right of suffrage also; and, inasmuch as you can, you are not at liberty to deny the rightfulness of asserting unconditionally in such a meeting, as is referred to, the doctrine of the duty either of voting or petitioning. As long as voting is 'a constitutional way,' so long it will be incompetent for you, or any other person, to deny that rightfulness.

In my letter of 7th June, speaking of the framers of the Constitution of the American Anti-Slavery Society, I said: 'Most certainly, not one of them would at that time have declared it immoral to vote.' Your strange reply to this allegation is: 'Most certainly, I reply—at least three of them had at that time conscientious scruples about going to the polls, and had not voted for years, nor ever intended to vote again—viz. Isaac Winslow, Samuel J. May, and George W. Benson.' Does this reply meet the allegation? The reply speaks but of their 'conscientious scruples' on the subject of voting. This is widely different from their declaration, that it is 'immoral to vote.' You well know, my dear Sir, that the doctrine, that it is immoral to participate in politics, is of very recent origin. I do not believe that, at the time of the adoption of the Constitution of the A. A. S. Society, there were twenty persons in this nation, who held to it. The Covenanters constitute no exception to this remark. I have not a particle of belief, and I presume you have not, that Mr. May, Mr. Winslow, and Mr. Benson then thought 'it immoral to vote.' Mr. May probably doubted, in common with thousands of his brethren in the minority, whether it was suitable for a minister of the gospel to meddle with politics; and Mr. Winslow, like many others of the Society of Friends, felt himself called upon but rarely, if ever, to go to the polls. When you say of these gentlemen, that they 'had not voted for years, nor ever intended to vote again,' I infer, not that they had made up their minds never to vote again—but only that they had not made up their minds to vote again. I doubt much, whether these gentlemen had, at that day, settled down in the conclusion, that they would never again go to the polls. But, my dear sir, I beg you, if it be only for the sake of the reputation of these brethren, that you will not again cite their example to disprove the allegation, that none of the framers of the Constitution of the Society thought it 'immoral to vote;'—for did they not, at that very time, deliberately and solemnly subscribe a paper, *drawn up by yourself*, which, amongst other inculcations of the duty of political action, says: 'We also maintain that there are, at the present time, the highest obligations resting upon the people of the free States, to remove slavery by moral and political action, as prescribed in the Constitution of the United States.' I beg you,—do not try to make it appear, that when they signed this paper, they thought it 'immoral to vote.' They may well exclaim, in view of your endeavor, 'Save us from our friends!' Allow me to try your consistency. If an infidel abolitionist, on the introduction into one of our anti-slavery meetings of a resolution expressive of thanks to God, should object to it, because of its recognition of a Supreme Being; you would deny his right to do so, and would remind him, that the Constitution of our Society makes the like recognition. But, I put it to your candor—does it recognize God any more distinctly than it does political action—than it does legislation, and consequently the inferior forms of political action, such as petitioning and voting? Surely, you will not say that it does. Again—you say, if I am right in my interpretation of the Constitution—that is, if it unconditionally recognizes the duty of political action, the non-resistant is bound to withdraw from the Society. Why then do you not urge the withdrawal of infidels from the Society; since you admit, that 'the being of a God is expressly acknowledged in our Constitution?' According to your own admissions and principles, the infidel is bound to withdraw. Now, I am not in favor of the withdrawal of either. I am for maintaining all that breadth of our anti-slavery platform, for which the Liberator habitually contends. I would invite the non-resistant and infidel to come upon this platform, and walk over and enjoy as much of it as they can. If there are portions of it on which their peculiar principles forbid them to step, do not let them—and the more especially, if they have inbibed their peculiarities since they joined the Society—I say, do not let them, in that case, be so unreasonable as to hinder others from ranging over its whole length and breadth.

You must, indeed, have felt yourself hard pressed for arguments, when you remarked, that the Constitution of the Society says 'not a word about going to the polls.' It says not a word about the duty of rendering thanks to God—nor a word about the duty of discountenancing the 'negro pew.' But, inasmuch as it recognizes the doctrine of a Supreme Being, and enjoins the duty of admitting our colored brethren to 'an equality with the whites, of civil and religious privileges,' and also enjoins the duty of political action; the details under all these heads are certainly no less obligatory than if they were specified in the Constitution.

Do, my dear sir, consider this whole subject anew. You may thus be brought to see the extravagance of your error in relation to it—an extravagance to which I will venture to say not one sound lawyer in your State could be blind, were the subject submitted to him. Should the non-resistants in our Society consent, at the approaching anniversary meeting in New-York, to yield the point which you and I are discussing, I feel well convinced that there would be no more quarrelling about the 'woman question'—and that a good degree of harmony would soon take the place of the contentions and divisions of abolitionists. Should it be otherwise, the strong probability is, that those, who cannot consent to the non-resistant interpretation of the Constitution on the point of political action, will withdraw from the Society, rather than remain in it, and prolong contentions and divisions so disgraceful to ourselves and so pernicious to our cause. I love the American Anti-Slavery Society; and have taken pleasure in laboring to preserve its honor and extend its usefulness. But, much as I love it, I would rather see it dissolved than have its continued existence the occasion of prolonging our wicked and wretched quarrels.

You will perceive that I have said nothing in this communication of the propriety of asserting the doctrine in our anti-slavery meetings, that it is a duty to vote—and nothing of the propriety of incorporating that doctrine into the Constitution of the American Anti-Slavery Society. I do but contend, that the doctrine is there, and that, being there, there is a constitutional right to assert it in all meetings, where the principles of the Constitution obtain.

Your friend and brother,
GERRIT SMITH.

ANDOVER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, April 11, 1840.

BRO. GARRISON:

After taking some preliminary steps, the friends of 'immediate and entire abolition of slavery in this country and throughout the world,' met and organized themselves into a Society, called the 'Anti-Slavery Association of Andover Theological Seminary.' The present number of members is fifty-six.

I give you the second rule of our constitution.

'There shall be two public meetings annually in the Chapel, when the Association shall be addressed by individuals from abroad, or by persons selected from our own number. The speakers shall be chosen by ballot. In connection with the address or addresses, letters containing important information on this subject from abroad may be read; and similar information, otherwise obtained, be communicated.'

The time of holding the semi-annual meetings will be on or near the first of August, and at some convenient time during the winter term.

Besides these meetings, there are to be monthly meetings of the Association, 'for prayer, discussion, and inquiry upon the subject of slavery.'

Yours for the oppressed,
WM. WALKER, *Sec.*

William Slade and Gen. Harrison.

PORT BYRON, 3d mo. 7, 1840.

FRIEND GARRISON:

I have just perused a pamphlet, entitled, '*Speech of Mr. Slade, of Vermont, on the Right of Petition, * * * * Delivered in the House of Representatives, on the 19th and 20th Jan.* 1840.' This pamphlet was put in my hand by a *pro-slavery* man, to whom it was '*franked*' by our *pro-slavery* representative, Christopher Morgan, of Aurora. In the perusal of this masterly speech, I felt inward joy that *such a speech* could be delivered in Congress, and that the cause of human rights had so fearless, and *apparently* so honest a champion. Nor did any thing occur to dampen my joy until I reached the close, where '*Mr. Slade, of Vermont*,' says, '*My position defined.*' In 'defining' his 'position,' the *secret* is revealed, and no wonder his *pious brethren*, Henry A. Wise and Wm. Cost Johnson could bear quietly the infliction of *such* a speech; knowing, as I have no doubt they did, the beauties of the closing paragraph. Now, when I take into view the *pretended piety* of Wm. Slade,—his great amount of light on the subject of American Slavery—the position he assumes as an abolitionist—his power to wield an influence in favor of Christ's oppressed poor—I shudder at the thought of his prostituting those splendid talents for the *express purpose* of seducing abolitionists from their honest convictions of duty, into the support of *liberty-hating Harrison*,—and *slave-breeding Tyler!* Oh, that some *real* friend could have shown him the almost infinite responsibility with which he was clothed, when he uttered this fulsome falsehood!

'A man who has shown that he received the instructions of such a father not in vain; a man who drew in with his first breath, the pure inspiration of revolutionary principles, and who has, through a long and eminently useful life, exhibited those principles in the well proportioned developements of a patriot and a man. Yes, sir, a man! Not a shrewd, cunning, plotting, scheming, selfish, heartless politician, but a man—a man with a *heart*—a heart as big as the world—a heart unpractised in political guile, or in any guile—a heart whose warm pulsations were never checked by the chill of selfishness—a heart open, kind, generous, UNCORRUPTED and INCORRUPTIBLE.'

Think you that 'Mr. Slade, of Vermont,' is ignorant of the fact, that a more bitter, uncompromising enemy to abolition, or a more industrious advocate for slavery, then this same 'big-hearted' Harrison, lives not on God's footstool? think you that this *abolitionist* does not know that the *Siamese* brother of this 'incorruptible' man, is the SLAVEHOLDING and SLAVE-BREEDING *John Tyler*, of Virginia? think you that this WHIG is unacquainted with the fact, that, no longer ago than 4th of July, 1838, this '*big-hearted* philanthropist'—this 'noble son of a noble sire'—'whose name is next to that of Jefferson'—this '*uncorrupted* and *incorruptible*' *patriot*, 'who drew in with his first breath the pure inspiration of revolutionary principles,' ('Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God,') used the following language—'The schemes of abolitionists are fraught with horrors, upon which an *incarnate devil alone* could look with approbation.' Away with such base hypocrisy! I have no patience with it. And that Wm. Lloyd Garrison should use such extreme mildness in reference to the fulsome eulogy of a tyrant who attempted to extend slavery all over the land, is to me passing strange! If the American ever lived, from whose brow should be torn the crown of hypocrisy, that man is '*Mr. Slade, of Vermont*'—who has been 'roared' by friend Garrison 'as gently as any sucking dove.' When I take into consideration the facts, that no row was got up during the delivery of this speech—its false eulogy upon a friend of slavery—its being '*franked*' all over the country by rank pro-slavery whigs—I have no doubt whatever of a foul conspiracy among the slaveholding whigs of the South, and the pretended slavery-hating whigs of the North, ☞ for the express purpose of securing the votes of abolitionists.

Thine for truth,
W. O. DUVALL.

George Combe and Phrenology.

NORTHAMPTON, April 12, 1840.

FRIEND GARRISON:

When I was in Boston, about three weeks since, I learned, for the first time, that you had rebuked me somewhat sharply in your paper several months ago, for an article which appeared in the last number of the Graham Journal, headed 'George Combe—Phrenology—Vegetable diet,' &c. I called at the Anti-Slavery Office several times, and inquired for you, but was not able to find you. I succeeded, however, in getting a sight of your remarks, and was greatly surprised that *William Lloyd Garrison* should thus speak of *Sylvester Graham*. If there be any two men in the world, who, more than all others, should exercise great forbearance toward each other, it seems to me, you and I are the men. Surely we are misunderstood, misrepresented, traduced, vilified, slandered abundantly by others, without setting upon each other as if, like rabid animals, we must needs flesh our teeth in each other's mangled carcass. This consideration has led me always to be exceedingly careful how I expressed an opinion, even in private, concerning you, when from any cause I have not been able to see things just as you appeared to see them.

Now, so far as it regards myself, personally or individually, it is a matter of very small consideration who speaks of me, or what is said about me; but where great principles are concerned—principles which lie at the foundation of human welfare—it becomes me, and every other philanthropist, to raise a vindicatory voice in their behalf, whenever they are attacked or misrepresented.

If George Combe had gone about our country, speaking against William Lloyd Garrison as a man, William Lloyd Garrison, if he is like Sylvester Graham, would have borne it in silence, and left his reputation to await that righteous judgment which, sooner or later, will be awarded to every man who has a living name. But, if George Combe, with all his popularity and authority as a public teacher, had gone about our country, inculcating sentiments which, if believed and practically adopted, would not only rivet the chains of slavery upon the colored people of our southern States forever, but would, also, serve to bring into perpetual slavery all other colored people throughout the world, in all coming generations, then, verily, William Lloyd Garrison would have rebuked him publicly, and in a manner not less decided, nor more gentle, than the article complained of in the Graham Journal; and, especially, when he found that George Combe, after having been informed of his error, persisted in repeating it on all occasions, and in giving its publication the most durable form.

Surely, friend Garrison, I have no malevolent or unkind feelings towards George Combe, to prompt me to speak of him unjustly, censoriously, or in any manner discourteously. But, whether you and many others are prepared to believe it or not, it is most certain that he has been greatly overrated as a man of science; and it is equally certain that Phrenology, as peculiar to the theory of Gall and Spurzheim, is an exceedingly bald and meagre thing, and of no sort of use to man. It is only when the discoveries and views, peculiar to Gall and Spurzheim, are incorporated in a correct, general system of human physiology and psychology, that they become of great theoretical and practical importance to society. But it is only in Phrenology, as peculiar to the theory of Gall and Spurzheim, or the doctrine of the intellectual and moral character of man as indicated by the external shape of the head, that George Combe is a learned man. In general physiology, which embraces psychology, as the true science of intellectual and moral philosophy, he is not a learned man; and no one, who is truly learned in these matters, can so consider him. Yet it is on points of utmost importance in physiology, which he knows little about, that he presumes to teach as one having authority, and attempts to establish his erroneous opinions by facts incorrectly apprehended, and erroneously stated; and, what is more remarkable, he persists in doing this, after the fallacy has been pointed out to him. This may appear justifiable to his devoted admirers; but to one who loves truth more than theory, and the cause of humanity more than popular favor, it has a different aspect.

That George Combe is more familiar with the peculiar views of Gall and Spurzheim than I am—that he has examined more skulls, with reference to the intellectual and moral characters of individuals,—is unquestionably true; but that he better understands the true doctrine of mind, as connected with organic structure, properties and functions, is not quite so certain. This point will be accurately settled by those who shall come after us, when the ignorance and prejudice of our own day shall have given place to clearer perceptions of truth. How it shall be settled by posterity is, however, of less interest to me, than it is that I should now be right, for the purpose of being instrumental of the greatest good in my power to the human family.

Respectfully yours,
S. GRAHAM.

Duties and Rights of Abolition Voters.

To the Editor of the Liberator.

Your correspondent *Cora* expresses the opinion, that some of the ideas which I advanced, in a late article in your paper, as to the course which abolitionists ought to pursue at the approaching presidential election, are not the ideas generally prevalent among abolitionists. I did not advance them as such. The ideas were my own, and I proposed them not as a received creed, but for candid consideration.

I know that many anti-slavery conventions have declared, that no man claiming to be an abolitionist, can consistently vote for any person, for an executive or legislative office, who is not an abolitionist.

I hold, on the other hand, that I am by no means bound to throw my vote away. If by voting for an abolitionist, there is a reasonable prospect of electing that abolitionist to office, or a reasonable prospect of defeating the election altogether, or a reasonable prospect of aiding the anti-slavery cause in any other way, in that case I see good reason for such a vote.

But, if there is no chance whatever of electing an abolitionist, nor of defeating the election; if the only thing in my power is, to decide between two pro-slavery candidates, both obnoxious on that account, but still one of them greatly preferable to the other, (at least in my opinion,) as is the case with respect to the coming presidential election,—because I am an abolitionist, have I therefore lost my right of choice between these two pro-slavery candidates? and am I obliged to stay away from the polls, or to vote for a third candidate, and thus perhaps to aid in the election of the man whom I most detest? Not at all. My being an abolitionist obliges me, where I have the power to do so, to contribute by my vote to advance the anti-slavery cause. If my vote could by any possibility elect an anti-slavery President, I ought to give it accordingly; but, when I have no such alternative, when one of two pro-slavery candidates must be elected, vote how I may, it is certainly very extraordinary if I cannot be permitted to exercise my right of choice between these two candidates. This is a liberty which I claim, and which I ought to have; whereas, to subject me to the necessity of voting for an abolitionist at all events, and thus depriving me of this right of choice, is a piece of sectarian servitude, to which I do not choose to submit.

It is this false notion of the absolute necessity of voting for an abolitionist at all events, whether any good would come of it or not, or even though it might lead to positive evil, that has caused the nomination of Mr. Birney for President. If it be absolutely necessary to vote for an abolitionist at all hazards, then, certainly, it seems reasonable that an abolitionist should be nominated for whom we may vote. But, inasmuch as I see and know, and as every body else sees and knows, that my voting for Mr. Birney can have no other possible tendency, except to aid in the election of Martin Van Buren; and inasmuch as, in my opinion, it would be better for the country, and for the cause of freedom, that William Henry Harrison should be the next President; I claim, and I shall exercise, the right to vote for him. If my vote could elect Mr. Birney, he should have it; but, inasmuch as every vote thrown for him is equivalent to at least half a vote given to Mr. Van Buren, my vote, under such circumstances, he shall not have.

If there are persons who think that the election of Mr. Van Buren will tend more to advance the cause of freedom than the election of Harrison, then, instead of throwing *half a vote* for Mr. Van Buren, by voting for Mr. Birney, they ought in conscience to give a *whole vote* for Mr. Van Buren.

It is very true that, if we should vote for Mr. Birney, agreeably to the exhortations to that effect contained in the *Abolitionist* and the *Emancipator*, it would enable the editors of those papers, and others who have taken a conspicuous part in that nomination, to say,—'See here what a band of faithful followers we have, who are ready to vote just as we tell them!' It would elevate those gentlemen into the leadership of a political faction, and might, perhaps, afford some gratification to them. But, in the mean time, Martin Van Buren would be President; and the aid of the abolitionists in making him so, would only tend to exasperate the whigs, and to deprive us of the aid and support which, to some extent certainly, we have received from that party, especially as respects the right of petition.

I conceive that the continuance of power in the hands of the Van Buren party, of which Mr. Benton and Mr. Calhoun are now the chief leaders, will be highly disastrous to the interests of the free States, and, instead of weakening, will only strengthen the power of slavery. Mr. Van Buren is professedly a 'northern man with southern principles,' and his party is pledged, as a party, to uphold the system of slavery, and to oppose and discountenance the abolitionists in every way. The overthrow of such a party cannot, in my opinion, be otherwise than advantageous to the cause of freedom. I therefore intend to contribute what I can to its overthrow.

If there are any persons who think with Mr. Leavitt, of the Emancipator, that the success of the whigs will be more disastrous to the anti-slavery cause, than the continuation of power in the hands of Van Buren, Calhoun and Benton, they are certainly very consistent in trying to keep things as they are; and as asking the abolitionists to vote for Mr. Van Buren directly, would be a little too barefaced, it is an ingenious idea to get them to vote for him over Mr. Birney's shoulders.

All I want is, fair play in this matter. Let every voter be firmly persuaded in his own mind; and, especially, let him understand what the effect of his vote will be. The question is, shall Mr. Van Buren continue President of these United States? Every voter who votes for General Harrison says, emphatically, NO. Every voter who stays away, or who votes for Mr. Birney, or for any other third candidate, indirectly says, YES.

Now, on an important question like this, it is best to have no dodging and no deception. Those who, on the whole, are in favor of continuing Mr. Van Buren's reign, show it, by voting for him. Those who are opposed to him, must show it, if they show it at all, by voting for Harrison. To vote for Mr. Birney, or to stay away, is, evidently, only an indirect method of upholding the present administration.

Believing as I do that the present administration ought to be overturned; knowing that the only way to overturn it is, to elect General Harrison; and knowing that the only way to elect him is to vote for him; I do not intend to suffer my hands to be tied up by that abstract, impracticable and false notion, that, as an abolitionist, I ought in all cases to vote for an abolitionist, and for no one else. As an abolitionist, I ought to do all I can to overturn slavery; but, in the means to be used for that purpose, I must be guided by circumstances. The mind must be left free to choose. Actions cannot be determined before hand by fixed and inflexible rules. He who submits himself to such rules, submits to become a mere automaton, a mere instrument in other people's hands.

A PLAIN MAN.

A third Political Party.

BROTHER GARRISON:

On the subject of a distinct anti-slavery political party, there appear to me to be entertained by its friends, groundless expectations of good. Of what materials is this third party in politics to be composed? They must be taken mainly from the two existing political parties. When organized, how would they act? If but one set of candidates should be set up for office, as is the plan, and persons from each of the existing political parties compose the third party, then one or both will be obliged to act inconsistently with professed political principles, in voting for the union candidate of opposite political principles. This will be the inevitable result. The whig, in some instances, will abandon his political principles, which he thinks correct, in voting for a democratic candidate; and, in others, the democrat will abandon his, in voting for a whig candidate. But, it is said, in vindication of this course, that the principles of anti-slavery are paramount to those of both political parties. True. But this fact does not imply that their political principles are of no importance, and may be innocently abandoned or sacrificed to advance principles of greater importance. Because one duty may be of greater importance than another, it does not follow that all duties but that which is paramount may be neglected. Each must occupy that measure of practical regard which its importance demands. Now, how will the existing political parties view such conduct in this third party? Will they not regard such a movement as involving great recreancy of principle? Will they not regard it as a deliberate surrender of known important political principles to promote a single good object—as doing evil that good may come—as a criminal haste to accomplish a good end? Is this the way to promote the cause of the slave, for its friends to furnish proof to opposers that they are reckless of principle—are so absorbed in the pursuit of one object, as to be regardless of every thing else—and expose themselves to the charge of being monomaniacs? By such a charge, they would lose their influence with both political parties, and be regarded as wild enthusiasts, or as hitherto disappointed aspirants after the emoluments of office.

The way to promote a good cause, and recommend it to the favor of others, and gain for it the friends of other good causes, is not to drive it rough shod over every other good object; but show that the cause we are laboring to promote is in good fellowship with other good causes—that it is bound to them by a common principle of rectitude and benevolence. We are never to forget that there is room enough in the human heart for every right principle—for the whole system of truth and holiness—for every good cause. For the more you put into the human heart, the more it will hold. The space good objects should occupy in our hearts, should be proportioned to their zeal and relative importance. As friends of the slave, we ask no person to abandon any right principle, to surrender any truth in religion or politics, or give up his attachment to any good object. But we do ask, that every person give that measure of benevolent regard to the claims of the slave which their great importance demands—to engraft the cause of the slave upon his religion and politics, and admit it to full fellowship with every cause on earth, that is regarded as good and just; to welcome this as a sister of charity into the wide circle of benevolent objects.

Our appropriate business, as friends of the slave, is not the upbuilding or the annihilation of any religious sect or political party, *as such*; but, to the utmost extent of a right influence, to make abolitionists of every religious sect and political party—by sober argument to persuade them all to go for the immediate emancipation of the slave. On the anti-slavery platform, we attempt not to settle the question, who or what is right in religion or politics, but what measures of truth and righteousness may be most successfully used for the emancipation of the slave. To this work, we summon all the mental energy and pure-he

est attention and cordial support of all who love the slave.

Resolved, That the proposition to dissolve the American Anti-Slavery Society, contained in a recent number of its official organ, meets our most earnest and decided reprobation.

Resolved, That the signs of the times in the anti-slavery movement require of its friends a numerous and prompt attendance at the annual meeting of the American Society, to be holden the 12th of May next, in New York.

ELIAS RICHARDS, *President.*
E. G. HUNT, *Rec. Sec.*

[Reported for the Liberator.]

A third Political Party.

The resolution on this subject being before the quarterly meeting of the Essex County A. S. Society, on the 20th March,

Mr. GARRISON wished to call the attention of the meeting to a few points. He wished to say, *in limine*, that he stood, in this matter, in a perfectly disinterested position. He had long since, as the audience well knew, taken a formal adieu of the honors of life. He was not, therefore, tempted to oppose this measure, because it might prove hostile to any interest of his own. But those who are laboring so industriously to bring this third party into existence, may examine their own souls, and weigh carefully their motives. I do not say that all such must needs be influenced by selfish considerations: I do not believe it. I only say, that it is more likely they should be, than if they had personally nothing to gain, by any possible turn of affairs. One circumstance is an unfavorable indication, as it respects the sincerity of some of them. They do not appeal to sound argument and good sense, in support of their scheme; but they raise a cry, on the right hand and on the left, that those who oppose it are non-resistants. Thus, it is hoped, may abolitionists, who dissent from it, be frightened from their propriety, and made the tools of designing men. Just brand them as non-resistants, and peradventure they will shrink back in alarm!

Let us look at the origin of this scheme. Where did it come from? I believe that its source will not help to prove its purity. I believe that it originated in new organization; and that the editor of the Massachusetts Abolitionist has been the man mainly relied on to advocate it, with Myron Holley of New York. And who is Myron Holley? A veteran politician. Certainly a very able man, but never publicly known as an abolitionist, till he came out calling for a change in our measures.

In reply to our assertion, that this step *is* a dereliction from our original principles and plans of action, it is said, 'What folly to be tied down to the past, as if we were never to be wiser by experience! How absurd to cling, like the Medes and Persians, to what we have once established!'

This *looks* independent, and is calculated to make an impression; for, certainly, *newness* is nothing against a proposition—past committal is nothing. We may have been *wrong*, and our proper business, in that case, is to get right. But, sir, it *is something* that, in the days of our feebleness, and consequent *purity*, we marked out this course, by which it will be our safety and our triumph to abide. Our language has been—'We *have* opened, we SHALL OPEN, NO ROAD TO POLITICAL PREFERMENT.' In connection with such declarations, we boasted of our disinterestedness; and we called on the world to witness, that this was no struggle for the loaves and fishes of office—that we did not want their posts of honor or of profit. Now, if we change one part of our proclamation, we have got to blot out the other part.

I was not prepared to present my thoughts in order to you, when this resolution came up—I did not think of addressing you upon it, or I should have been prepared with an abundance of documents which would show how radical a change our enterprise must undergo, in becoming, as it must do under the operations of a political party, mainly a political one. It is less necessary, however, to refer to these, as most present will remember them.

Our position, hitherto, has been a sublime one. It has deeply affected the moral sense of the world. They have seen us democrats about a U. S. Bank—whigs about a sub-treasury; yet so firmly bound to our anti-slavery principles, in preference to these considerations, as have done much towards abolitionizing the land. We have thus influenced the course of both parties; and we can continue to do so, and yet both remain parties, in the ranks of which our cause shall have a free and triumphant course.

They do see—they must see—even pro-slavery is compelled to acknowledge, the moral power and beauty of such a position as we now occupy—a great body generating political power by the might of truth only. Let us change this position, and how quickly will their emotions all change! They will ask, with a sneer, 'Are you become like unto us?' *You* didn't want offices, forsooth!—and now you are *the only men who ought to have them!*' 'ICHABOD' may be written on our banner, from the moment we abandon our present strong hold. What have we relied on? The truth as it is in Jesus. What has brought us where we are? A third party? No, sir! no! It was the great idea of universal brotherhood. It was the deep conviction, that, to MAN, under whatever modifications, belong all the rights and privileges we claim for ourselves. It is a spiritual truth, a literal fact, that 'God chooses the weak things of the earth to confound the mighty; yea, the things that are despised hath he chosen,' to carry forward his work. Just so far as we have had faith in the power of truth, just so far God has blessed us. Now what begins to be said? Why, the parties are so corrupt, we cannot convert them, and therefore we must get up a third party. Ah! it was, I fear, a lack of truth, a loss of moral power, that gave birth to this thought. It was infidelity to truth. Is it so, that whigs and democrats are stronger than God? Yes, say the third party men, the hope of converting them must be abandoned! Then, sir, our cause is lost. How is it that we are so dim-sighted now? We all saw these things clearly enough in the beginning. To say that we cannot convert the democrats and the whigs, amounts to the declaration, that we cannot convert the people of the free States: and if we cannot hope to do that, *how can we ever hope to convert the South?* Once, we thought the power of truth equal to pulling down even *their* strong holds. Now, we despair of converting the people of the North! Of course, if we cannot convert the people, we shall have a third party composed of—NOBODY! That's the philosophy of it, Mr. President. 'But why not let them go on?—Why not let them form their new party arrangements?' Sir, a word of caution, a word of warning, should not be considered out of place. What king ought to undertake a warfare, without counting the cost? It should be remembered that a third party is not a *principle*, but numerical strength brought together by various means, because the only reliable means—the power of truth—is supposed to be ineffectual. If it be safe at any time to rely upon the count of votes is *this* the time? How are we, politically, as to numbers, in the free States? Why, we have hardly the breath of life, even in a moral sense. Look at Maine! Look at granite-hilled and granite-hearted New-Hampshire! 'Oh, but in Massachusetts, we are strong.' Ay—not as a third party though. Holding the balance of power, we have a vantage-ground which we relinquish when we grasp at power directly. In Vermont and Connecticut, we have some hold. In New-York, somewhat less—our strength there is exaggerated. In Pennsylvania, we are nothing as to numbers. Ohio has bowed the knee more pliantly than ever to slavery. We should resemble Falstaff's ragged regiment in a numerical conflict: we should be but a scare-crow. No, sir, not even that; for we should frighten nobody. Political action is but the shadow of moral power. It does not make moral power; nor can it induce a moral being to pity the poor slave.

It is idle—perfectly idle, to trouble ourselves about the presidential election, except by bearing our testimony, in our various ways, against a pro-slavery candidate. There is no probability that, for the next term at least, the President will be able to do any thing. It is the testimony of John Quincy Adams, that there is n t more than one man on the floor of Congress, who would vote for immediate emancipation in the District of Columbia. See, then, what a tremendous moral effort must be put forth—what a mighty moral work accomplished among the people, before that body will be ready for emancipation. When that time comes, let who will occupy the presidential chair, he will never resist the popular will. He is but an indication of the direction of public sentiment. There is no need to trouble ourselves about the *vanes*;—let us raise the winds! (vehement applause.)

Men become weary in the use of moral means, and they say we have done nothing! Nothing has been done, unless a third party can be formed! Ay, and unless this can be brought to pass, their new organization must die! They seem to have no faith no endurance—no implicit reliance on God. They have found out that his means are not the right means, and they have discovered a shorter cut!

But we *have* done somewhat, and in a *political* way too. Look at our leading politicians in this State. Every one of them has made concessions to our principles. 'But they are hypocrites in it,' it is replied. Well, hypocrisy is the tribute, by which falsehood acknowledges the triumph of truth. 'But the parties will never put up genuine abolitionists.' I say it is a libel upon men. Get Essex County right, and will not the right men be sent to represent her? Look at the Legislature! Who is working there for the cause with a giant's strength and spirit? George Bradburn. Is *he* not a genuine abolitionist? And is not *that* something? George T. Davis, too! Who that knows him will say, that *he* is not a genuine abolitionist? And is not *that* something? Then the devoted Sprague! Did not the men of Plymouth County put a genuine abolitionist in nomination? Shame to the abolitionism of the old colony, that his election had not been secured! (Great applause.) [Mr. Henshaw, of Lynn, here entered the meeting, having just arrived from Boston, and handed a paper to Mr. Garrison.] Excuse me, friends, for an episode; I shall know where I left off. Here is news from the Legislature! The House has adopted our resolutions by a vote of 390 to 11. (Enthusiastic cheers, and calls 'read the resolutions.') I'll read them. (Continued cheers.) Sir, *we have done something to-day politically.* (Great applause.)

I said I was ashamed of abolitionists, that they had not elected Seth Sprague. But they did elect his son, it must be remembered, who is an abolitionist, and will doubtless go all lengths for our cause.

How stood this matter of genuine nominations in New York? There they put up Gerrit Smith; and I ask these men, whether they do not believe that he would have been true, had he been elected? Why, they will put up any man we want, my friends, when once our moral force has reached a certain point,—a point attainable long before a third party can be thought of. We need a new sect in religion, just as much as a new party in politics; and the endeavor to obtain the last, will just as surely scatter us, as an effort for a new sect would do; and, be it remembered, that, if we are *divided*, there is an end to our *numerical* strength. But the men who started this idea, with the feelings of party leaders, don't care for that. They were a faction; a faction has nothing to lose by division—it *lives* upon division. Having deserted the original common ground of union, *they* thrive by what the cause suffers from.

Mr. President, I believe that the power which, in apostolic times, overcame idolatry, is the power, which, in our day, is to cast down southern slavery. Let us, then, go forward, in the strength of the Lord, and in the power of His might. Let us take little trouble about candidates for the presidency, and the machinery of party. Let us depend upon it, that there will be no lack of politicians, sagacious to feel the public pulse for us, and nominate to our liking, if we will but devote ourselves to the work of abolitionizing the people by the exercise of moral power. (Continued applause.)

Extract of a Letter from C. C. Burleigh.

BOSTON, April 20, 1840.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON:

MY DEAR SIR—The following extracts are contained in a letter from CHARLES C. BURLEIGH. By publishing them, you will do me a favor, and show your readers in what estimation the Liberator is held by one of the firmest and most successful advocates of emancipation.

The present crisis in the anti-slavery cause, I think, demands the publication of such testimony.

Yours for the cause,
WM. M. CHACE.

'It really does me good to catch a glimpse of the old war-scarred veteran, still faith ful and true, vigilant and uncompromising,

'Like the oak of the mountain, deep-rooted and firm,
Erect, when the *multitude* bends to the storm.'

The Emancipator may forget its ancient glory, and bear the banner of the central host away from the high ground whereon the hand of a GARRISON helped to plant it---hoping to lead down into the miry ground of partizan politics the columns of Freedom's battling army; the Freeman may tremble in the blast, and almost swerve from the right line of our former march, and lean to following the *mis*-lead of the great standard, and from centre to extremest wing, from the front to rear, dismay pervade our once unwavering phalanx;—but there, amid all the tumult, flapping defiance to every foe, whether in the guise of an open enemy or pretended friend, 'the broad pendant' of the Liberator rolls out to the gale, borne up by a banner staff that was never made for bending, and sustained by an arm that will sooner fall from its shoulder-blade, than lower that proud ensign, or permit it but to incline a hair's breadth to the right hand or the left:—and there, too, rallying around the standard, with hearts resolved, and unquailing front, is the old Massachusetts legion, firm in their tracks, where duty bids them stand, 'unshaken, unseduced, unterrified,' let what may befal the rest of the array.

May their firm stand check and turn back the headlong rush of those battalions which are pouring down from our strong position, rashly to peril the cause of Freedom, by trusting its battle to the common field of conflict, which the demagogue and the party intriguer have ever chosen!

* * * * *

You have, of course, seen the account of the Smyrna mob, where our excellent friend, Daniel Neal, was made the mark of popular fury, and Mrs. Mott, *like herself*, perilled her own person to try to avert the danger from him. I imagine I can see our noble friend now, with his tall, erect form, and his calm, unfaltering look, bearing the savage violence with the christian firmness and cool composure which are such prominent traits in his character, and by his manly deportment kindling even in their brutal bosoms something like a feeling of shame. And LUCRETIA MOTT, too—I can see her noble bearing through the whole scene—her prompt alacrity to throw herself into the path of danger, in the hope of averting harm from her companion;—and I can hear the eloquence of her pleading accents, and see the burning language of her expressive countenance, as she pleaded with the mob for his rescue.'

BOSTON, March 28, 1840.

FRIEND GARRISON:

Below, I give you an extract from a letter, written by a gentleman now of Louisville, Ky. who formerly lived in this city. The last sentence, respecting the press, speaks volumes. H. A. N.

LOUISVILLE, Dec. 18, 1839.

I have rode some 60 miles, on horseback, this week, in the country. O, thou Spirit of Slavery! If I had no other name by which to call thee, I would call thee *devil!*

A rumor is abroad, to-day, of a contemplated insurrection among the slaves of the State, at the approaching Christmas holidays, when they are all free to go and do as they like. Some forty arrests have already taken place. The troops are under orders to rally at the given signal, with ball-cartridges —(William * is one of the independent company)— *But all is mum in the press.*

Yours, &c. ——

* A brother-in-law of the writer, also from the North. Northern arms keep southern slaves in subjection: and yet, it is said, we have nothing to do with slavery!

The Colonial Council of Martinique has voted the emancipation of the slaves in that colony to be impossible, without exposing the slave-owners to be massacred, and securing the return of the slaves to a state of barbarism. What an appalling commentary is this, if true upon the horrors of slavery! But it is an absurdity.

A negro at Charleston, S. C., was lately sentenced to receive 200 lashes—a certain number to be given from time to time, till the whole were meted out. Such punishments are shocking to humanity, and carry the mind back to savage barbarity.

H. M. brig Ring Dove, Capt. Steward, captured the slave schooner Victoria, on the 23rd of January, in the Bahama Channel. She had previously landed her slaves in the Isle of Pines.—*Commercial Advertiser.*

More Bloodhounds.—A letter from Matanzas, dated the 11th ult., says—'The U. S. Schooner of war Flint, commanded by Lieut. McLaughlin, arrived at this port some three days since, for a recruit of *blood-hounds* for the Florida service. She sails again to-morrow, having obtained the desirable number. She also takes out four Spaniards, who are to have charge of them.'— *Phil. Gaz.*

SELECTIONS.

From the Emancipator.

Letter from James S. Gibbons.

FOURTH MONTH, 12th, 1840.

Friend Leavitt,—I believe it has been usual for the Committee of Arrangements for the annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, to issue circulars, inviting the attendance of individuals far and near, with a view to secureas large an assemblage as possible of the abolitionists of the country. This has not been done the present year. The conflict of opinions on various subjects connected with the anti-slavery movement, has unhappily led to distraction in our ranks, and o divisions which are likely to be permanent. It is supposed by some, that a large attendance at the approaching annual meeting will increase rather than diminish our difficulties,—that if we have a meage assemblage, we shall be more likely to harmonize. I have heard several excellent men say, they did not intend to be present, and that they would advise all *good* abolitionists to stay away. If such advice be followed, what can we expect but confusion and discord? That causes of distraction exist amongst us is good reason why the best heads and hearts in the country should come up and offer themselves to the service of the cause. The disputative and the captious are always foremost on such occasions—and if the field be abandoned to them, we may give up all hope of restoring harmony either by compromise or expurgation.

How far the impression, that our differences are irreconcileable, may tend to make them so, is worthy of consideration. How far also the expectation that the American Anti-Slavery Society will be dissolved at the annual meeting, may throw obstacles in the way of its continuance, is deserving of serious thought. In proportion as men's minds become fixed in anticipation of a certain course of action, the probabilities of any other course being adopted recede. Why should we anticipate in these matters? Why are we not, one and all, willing to rest satisfied with doing what the present requires, without assuming vague conjectures of the future, as a ground of proper action? If, instead of this, men were to hold themselves *in readiness to be made use of* in the service of Freedom, that service would never lack efficiency, or be the prey of internal feuds.

I believe that some hitherto active friends of the Society are now anxious for its destruction, *if they are not determined* to destroy it. For my own part, I can conceive of no reasons why it should cease to exist, so long as a slave tills the American soil, or while the name of *master* may wound a freeman's ear. I would say, therefore, to the abolitionists of the country, *be present at the approaching annual meeting, and resolve there, that the distracted elements of opposition to slavery shall be re-united, and re-consecrated to the service of oppressed humanity.*

In the last Emancipator, are several proposed amendments to the Constitution. That which contemplates depriving members of the Society of the right to vote at its meetings, will be responded to, only when men forget that they have any rights to lose.

The substitute for the ninth article proposes our congressional representation as the basis of representation at our annual meetings. The original ground is perfectly simple and republican. The object of the substitute is to obviate the preponderance of local influences. Is it likely that such machinery will present an effective barrier to men who are capable of sacrificing the cause of the slave to local or selfish purposes? No. If abolitionists be true to themselves and to liberty, the substitute will not be needed—if they prove false, it will be no protection.

I cannot appreciate the consequence that some of our friends attribute to 'local influences.' It is entirely appreciable in our political relations, where local interests are to be affected. But, as philanthropists, I cannot see how geographical position can improve or invalidate the judgment. Obviously, every thing depends on the sincerity and single-heartedness of abolitionists. We want all we can get, of wisdom, intelligence, sagacity, efficiency and virtue; and if these be manifested in higher degree by fifty men who reside east of the Green Mountains, than by other fifty, composed in part of residents from the west side, I would give the preference to their councils. We have not, in times past, been sensitive on the score of *local* taxation!

The opening minute of the convention that formed the American Society, commences thus: 'A meeting of delegates from Anti-Slavery Societies, and other friends of emancipation,' &c. I suppose the annual meetings may be properly constituted of the same materials. The test, in that day of single hearts and fraternal confidence, was, *hostility to slavery.* There was nothing said or thought about *localities.* The great object was to assemble the wisdom and virtue of country.

I fervently hope that the members of the American Anti-Slavery Society will attend our approaching meeting—that *good* men may not stay away through fear of discussions. The obligation to attend is peculiarly imperative on the true friends of peace and union, in our now distracted ranks.

JAMES S. GIBBONS.

The National Society.

It is proposed, we see, in some of the anti-slavery papers, and oddly countenanced it seems by the Emancipator, its official organ, to disband this association. We do not see the reason of this proposal. There seems to us all the occasion now, that there was at the beginning, for a national association and one of the kind now existing;—not a *select committee*, but a popular association, like all its legitimate auxiliaries. There appears to us all the occasion for the National organization that exists for any State organization. If the American Society may safely be disbanded, then, it seems to us, every other may in the land. Nation and States as we are, politically, there seems a fair and proper occasion for National and State Anti-Slavery Societies. They will never conflict or interfere with each other, in their operations, if they are composed of genuine abolitionists. Let none of them be disbanded. Let no anti-slavery banner be lowered, until the black flag of slavery strikes. The substitute Committee, proposed by our friends who are in favor of disbanding, does not at all strike our anti-slavery fancy. We are not partial to *delegation of power.* Of all Committees, the one we like best, is 'Committee of the whole'---the Primary Assembly---the people, as they live at home—the multitude of the country. Anti-Slavery is not such a learned and mysterious business, that it requires doctors to carry it on or to understand it. Every body almost is fit to manage in its simple and plain affairs. All women—all men—all children, who are able to discern the heaven-wide difference between liberty and slavery.

We have no predilection for a *select* abolitionism —none for a 'legal voter' anti-slavery, or a 'gentleman' anti-slavery. Liberty, all are alike concerned in. Slavery, all can understand. We would enlist all the people for its overthrow. We would enlist the sympathies of all—the action of all—the votes and voices of all. All that go to make up the country, we would have go to make up the anti-slavery association,—that is, as fast as they become abolitionists. We beseech our friends not to confide anti-slavery to *select hands.* Human power poorly endures delegation. Men are not made to be trusted with what is not their own. 'New Organization' seems to us to savor strongly of this *committeeship*—this *agency*—and *irrevocable attorneyship.* It fears to trust the people's affairs in their own hands. It covets jurisdiction and control. It would carry on this anti-slavery far more *discreetly* than the unwise multitude,—and so as not to disturb the pro-slavery tranquillity of the country.

The annual meetings we wish could be held somewhere else than in New-York city—or any city. Moral effort seems to be lost in these fathomless multitudes of people—these abysses of humanity. There is often little individual character in the city. We should like to see the *Anti-Slavery Nation* assembled somewhere in the country—where the air is pure and wholesome—where character is individual and strong—capable of receiving a moral impression and retaining it. Of all marrowless philanthropy, save us and our cause from that, which congregates at the city at the time of the great pro-slavery anniversaries. We trust there will not be a temporary conversion of the pro-slavery ministers, that flock to New-York at the time of the National Meeting, so as to let them in like a flood to vote down old organization policy. They have no sympathy. Their ears are deaf as the adder's to the cry of perishing humanity, and they are as heartless as the nether millstone. One of them in this vicinity said characteristically to an abolitionist of the same church—what is all this stir about negroes? What occasion is there for this excitement about the slaves? He felt none of it, he said, and saw no occasion for it. *He* was a *colonizationist*, he said. And he did not feel any of it, or see occasion for it. He sees, in the weltering bondage and despair of 2500,000 imbruted human beings, no occasion at all for a stir or excitement, not the least,—any more than if they were so many mules! There is no flesh in such obdurate hearts. To counteract the influence of such at the national meeting, let the sympathetic freedom-seeking people go up *en masse*, as the tribes went up to Jerusalem.

We are for conitnuing the National Society, and securing for it as decidedly popular a character and management, as obtain in any of our local associations. We trust it will be so continued,---and that no attempt will be ventured at *new organizing*—or *secession.* Above all, we hope none of our brethren will raise 'woman questions' or other '*extraneous*' novelties to curtail the ample freedom essential to an anti-slavery meeting.—*Herald of Freedom.*

From the Emancipator.

Formation of an Independent Anti-Slavery Board.

Brother Leavitt,—I wish to give, through your paper, the constitutional notice, that I intend, at the next annual meeting of the A. A. S. Society, if present, to move for the calling of a General Convention of the friends of abolition for the purpose of discussing the question of forming a National Anti-Slavery Board for conducting our enterprise, to be styled, perhaps,

THE AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY:

With the view, that if such a convention should see fit to approve such a Board, the American Society should therefore become defunct.

My plan, so far as my views on the subject are digested, is the following:

In the manner above named or in some other way, let there be a Board formed, of some fifty or sixty good men and true, or if you please a hundred, who are prepared to adopt in full the principles of the American Society.

Let this Board be independent, possessing powers similar to those of the A. B. C. F. M.

Instead of State societies, let this Board appoint State committees in each State, or a subordinate Board in each State, who should be a committee or Board of advice and reference, and should be auxiliary to the Parent Board.

Let the original societies remain and be greatly multiplied, and all be auxiliary to the Parent Board. My arguments for such an organization, or an organization of which the above is a partial outline, are the following:

1. The history of our enterprise, thus far, shows clearly that *our present organization will not answer.* It has not the confidence of the Christian public so extensively as it ought to have, nor has it fully our own confidence. I need not enlarge upon this topic, nor attempt in this place to point out the present defects. Suffice it to say, that there is no one who has carefully watched the operations of our organization for the last two years, but must be convinced that it is essentially defective and inadequate to the accomplishment of the mighty object we have in view. It is fraught with confusion, and being too complicated, is not characterized by that energy of action with which it otherwise would be. The machinery jars, and does not work kindly and harmoniously—something, therefore, must be done. Some amendment, alteration or change in our organization must be made, before we shall be able to advance much farther.

2. It is plain that *there must be a central organization.* You might as well subtract the heart from the animal economy as to abolish our central executive organization. There must be a central executive committee to whom the business of the enterprise shall be mainly entrusted, who shall be able to look over the whole field, and who shall be amenable to some body of men. Such a Board would be the proper body.

3. *In the above proposed organization, there would be unity*—a oneness. It would be a whole, complete in its parts, and easily and distinctly seen. It would stand before the public as a complete organization, and would operate without a *jar.*

4. *Such an organization would give an honorable and deserved character to our enterprise.*

And this is what we want. It deserves it. Our enterprise is the greatest that ever agitated this or any other land. It furnishes a perfect specimen of the moral sublime. The Foreign Mission cause is not to be compared with it. It holds the same place in the moral movements of our world, that, Chalmers says, redemption, appertaining only to our little earth, does to the moral universe.

With such a Board to conduct it as we might form, our enterprise would stand forth redeemed and disenthralled from many of its present embarrassments, and be seen in its proper attitude, and be sure to secure public attention and sympathy. It would then stand prominently out, as it should do, and the whole pro-slavery South and North would be constrained to gaze and tremble. There are a hundred, two hundred, yea, five hundred of the best spirits in the land, who would be willing to become members of such a Board, and for such an object, and who would give energy and respect to our cause.

It will secure union among the friends of liberty, because in such a Board they would have confidence, and such an organization would be seen to be worthy of their patronage and support. Such a Board being free from sectarian views and feelings, and having the one alone object of abolition before them, would be likely to feel their responsibility to the Christian public—would consequently conduct the enterprise in a manner to deserve general approbation. Here would be an unobjectionable organization, around which and for which all the true friends of liberty might rally, and for which all who have no bye-ends to serve would be likely to rally—union of feeling and action would be to us secured. And men could see that such a Board, being thus permanent, and not subject to frequent changes, could conduct the enterprise *steadily*, and with comprehensive views of the whole achievement to be accomplished.

6. Such an organization would secure an *increase of funds.*

Because, the friends of the cause would feel an assurance that their funds contributed, passing through the hands of such a Board, would be judiciously expended. They would know for what they gave, and be assured that their donations would do good. The agents of the cause, in the name of such a Board, and standing on the foundation which such an organization would form, would be able to make an appeal in behalf of suffering humanity, which would open thousands of hearts that are now closed, to deeds of charity and mercy. And funds would flow into our treasury tenfold to what they ever did before. Such, certainly, are our convictions on the subject. The people will give to this object, only inspire them with confidence.

7. Such an organization will give *efficiency to the enterprise.* In such a Board would be combined *knowledge, wisdom* and *zeal*, all the ingredients necessary to constitute efficiency. They would be able to survey the whole ground, investigate the evil, and apply the proper remedy. They would have the enterprise before them, and resting upon them with a responsibility that might crush an angel. It seems that no body of men, and especially of Christian and philanthropic men, could fail under such circumstances to act, and act efficiently.

D. ROOT.

Albany Convention.

We regard the nominations as a farce—with all due respect for our distinguished friends who achieved them.

They doubtless intend well, and mean to advance the anti-slavery cause. And they are wise and able men. But is not the wisdom they display here, the wisdom of *this world?* We think so. They will kindly receive what we say. We hope Messrs. Birney and Earle will promptly decline the honor proffered them. If politics, technically speaking, were a legitimate anti-slavery agency—if this nominating, (or electing even,) had any tendency to create the reform which is essential to emancipation, it were a far higher honor to receive the suffrages of a handful of abolitionists, than of those hosts of idolators, who muster 'like grass-hoppers for number' to the great Juggernaut *aggregations* of American Party.

We hope Messrs. Birney and Earle will betake themselves to the proper work of abolitionists—to agitating the moral atmosphere with the thunders of Discussion. Instead of the State, let them turn to the CHURCH, and instead of aiming their guns at State House and Court House, let them confront the pro-slavery *pulpit*, and rescue against it the right of free discussion. Instead of Albany Conventions, let them go to the NEW-ENGLAND CONVENTION! There would be nothing political in the way of our enterprise, if the Church and the pulpit were once got out of its way. You may conquer political pro-slavery, through the church; but never the pro-slavery and slaveholding church or people through politics.—*Herald of Freedom.*

THE LIBERATOR.

BOSTON:

FRIDAY MORNING, APRIL 24, 1840.

ADDRESS OF THE BOARD OF MANAGERS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

At a meeting of the Board of Managers of the Massachusetts A. S. Society, April 21, 1840, the following Address having been read—

Voted, That the same be adopted and published in an official manner, under the signature of the President and Corresponding Secretary.

It was also

Resolved, That in justice to the Massachusetts A. S. Society, which has been extensively misrepresented, and to our common cause, the editors of all the anti-slavery papers in the country be respectfully and earnestly requested to publish the following address before the next annual meeting of the Parent Society.

Attest, OLIVER JOHNSON, *Rec. Sec. pro tem.*

To the Abolitionists of the United States.

BRETHREN:—The approaching anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society is calculated to fill the breast of every true-hearted abolitionist with more than ordinary solicitude. It cannot be disguised—it should not be, if it could—that serious dissensions have arisen in our ranks, to the detriment of our cause, and to the imminent peril of our whole organization. As these dissensions were commenced in Massachusetts—as a new organization has been formed in this State, claiming to occupy the ground of the Society we represent—as there seems to be a disposition, in various quarters, to excite in your minds any other than fraternal feelings towards the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, and to ourselves as its Board of Managers, apparently for no good purpose—we deem it proper to make the following appeal to your good sense and sober judgment, trusting that it will not be made in vain.

We beg leave to call your attention, once more, to the basis of anti-slavery fellowship—to the length and breadth of the platform upon which we all professedly stand—to the object of our organization.

I. THE BASIS OF ANTI-SLAVERY FELLOWSHIP. What is it? Perfect agreement in opinion, that all men have an inalienable right to liberty; that to enslave a human being, or to retain him in slavery, under any circumstances, is an impious and cruel act; that it is the duty of the slaveholder immediately to relinquish his claim of property in man, and to liberate all whom he holds in bondage; that to colonize or proscribe any portion of the American population, on account of their complexion, is to insult HIM who has made of one blood all nations of men, to violate the spirit and precepts of our holy religion, and to make war upon our common humanity.

II. THE LENGTH AND BREADTH OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY PLATFORM. In the foregoing sentiments, persons of every sect and party can unite for the overthrow of slavery, in an associated capacity, and join hand-in-hand and stand shoulder to shoulder upon common ground, without compromising any of their distinctive peculiarities, or having their liberty of conscience or of speech trammelled on any subject. Accordingly, for the express purpose of uniting, in one unbroken phalanx, as many of our countrymen as believed in the doctrine of immediate emancipation, irrespective of their views on other subjects, the New-England (now the Massachusetts) Anti-Slavery Society was formed in 1832; from which have originated the American Anti-Slavery Society and its two thousand auxiliaries. Until somewhat recently, the experiment has proved successful, in an eminent degree. The utmost harmony of feeling and sentiment has prevailed in all our associations, and a more delightful spectacle of christian charity and brotherly love has never been exhibited to the world. Astonished to behold such a union, and regarding it as ominous of the downfall of their cherished system, the holders of slaves have been seized with fear and trembling. To show how perfectly agreed abolitionists have been, in relation to the nature and design of their organization, we quote the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted at the fifth annual meeting of the Parent Society held in New-York, May 2, 1838:

'Resolved, That, in our efforts to abolish slavery, we meet each other, not as members of any religious or political party; but as abolitionists, on the broad ground of our common brotherhood and humanity—as moral and accountable beings, entitled to equal rights and privileges.

'Resolved, That it is the glory of the anti-slavery cause, that its principles are of such fundamental importance to the welfare of the whole human family, that men who differ widely from each other on political and theological subjects, can labor harmoniously together for its promotion; and that no political party, or religious denomination, which is not in itself corrupt, has any thing to fear from its progress or final triumph.'

Similar resolutions have been adopted by anti-slavery societies, in all parts of the country, with perfect unanimity.

III. THE OBJECT OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY ORGANIZATION. What is it? The abolition of slavery, and the improvement and elevation of our colored population. By what instrumentality? By the promulgation of the doctrine of immediate emancipation, and the application of truth to the consciences and hearts of a pro-slavery people. Not by exacting a conformity of views, among the friends of emancipation, with regard to any theological or political dogma; not by arraigning any man for believing, or refusing to believe, in the divinity of the Church or State; not by assuming that any existing civil or ecclesiastical government is either good or evil in itself; not by making it obligatory upon any abolitionist to be a voter at the polls, or a member of any religious denomination; not by refusing to give the right hand of fellowship to any man, or body of men, on account of conscientious scruples entertained respecting subjects foreign to the anti-slavery enterprise. For, if any such test were required, it is certain that there could be no such thing as a union of all sects and parties for the overthrow of slavery; and it would be perfectly absurd to talk of a *common* platform of humanity. While, however, no member of our organization may attempt to convert it either to his peculiar religious or political views, nor denounce those who do not embrace those views as abolitionists, he does not, nevertheless, by consenting to become a member of our organization, surrender his right to proselytize to the extent of his ability, apart from abolitionism, as a man or a christian—either as a member of any sect or party, or as one who stands aloof from all sects or parties; provided, of course, he never makes the cause of bleeding humanity subordinate to any political or sectarian considerations, but bears a faithful and consistent testimony against the sin of slavery. A Methodist clergyman, for example, in joining an anti-slavery society, has no right to obtrude his views of Methodism upon it, with a design to give them currency; but, when not acting in the society, he has an indisputable right to attempt to make as many converts to his religious faith as possible; and no abolitionist may justly complain of his conduct. This is a common sense view of the subject. In an official address to the public, issued by the Executive Committee of the American A. S. Society, August 24, 1837, it is truly declared—

'The Constitution, after setting forth the principles of the Society, declares that whoever consents to these principles, not being a slaveholder, may, on making a pecuniary contribution, become a member. Hence, good faith obviously requires, not only that those who enter the Society should sincerely embrace its avowed principles, but also that [IT] "THE SOCIETY SHOULD ABSTAIN FROM ALL INTERFERENCE WITH SUCH OTHER PRINCIPLES AS MAY BE HELD BY ITS MEMBERS." [IT] *Of course, no member is required, by his connection with the Society, to refrain from expressing (on his own responsibility) his individual opinions on any subject whatsoever. We believe there is among the abolitionists,* A MOST CORDIAL AND UNANIMOUS ASSENT TO THE GREAT MORAL TRUTHS PROCLAIMED IN OUR CONSTITUTION, *while on many other and important topics, they maintain very opposite and irreconcileable sentiments.*

Some of these sentiments being promulgated in anti-slavery papers, and advocated by one or more abolitionists, have been used to prejudice the anti-slavery cause. [IT] ON THE SENTIMENTS ALLUDED TO, THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HAVE NO AUTHORITY TO SIT IN JUDGMENT; [IT] but, *the Society, and every member is at liberty to assail or defend them.*

The great diversity of sentiment entertained by abolitionists, on political and religious subjects, instead of being, as our enemies vainly imagine, an indication of our weakness, is a demonstration of our strength, and an omen of our ultimate triumph. That cause cannot belong to a sect or a party, which is espoused by men of all sects and of all parties. The rights for which we are contending, are the rights of our common nature, and their advocacy cannot safely be committed to any sect or party, nor can any sect or party be exempted from rebuke, which takes the attitude of hostility to these rights.'

It would be needless to dwell upon this point, were it not that a new construction has lately been given to the language of the Constitution, by a few individuals who are somewhat prominent in our ranks, and especially by the official organ of the American A. S. Society; evidently with a design to create odium against other members of the Society, and, if possible, to induce them to withdraw from the same, in consequence of their religious scruples against participating in the politics of the country. This construction is, that every member of the Society, who is entitled to the elective franchise, is bound to use it, by the terms of the Anti-Slavery Constitution—a construction which has already produced much discord among abolitionists, which is as false as it is pernicious, which would exclude from our organization some of the earliest and best friends of the slave, and which would not merely abridge our common platform, but inevitably break it into fragments.

Slavery pollutes the Church, and corrupts the State. In order, therefore, to effect its abolition, both Church *and* State need to be purified. It is the avowed object of the Anti-Slavery Society to enlist on the side of emancipation, 'moral *and* political action.' As the American people are upholding slavery by their religious and political power, it assumes that they are under the strongest obligations to use such power for the overthrow of that hideous system: i. e. it speaks in popular language, without meaning to concede, or deny, the inherent rightfulness of human governments or church establishments, because it is not necessary for the Society to make any such concession or denial. Now, if the State cannot be purged from the stain of slavery, unless abolitionists go to the polls; neither can the Church, unless they connect themselves with it. But what would be the consequence, if it should be made an abolition test, that every member of the Anti-Slavery Society is in duty bound to connect himself with the Church, on the ground that such a connection is essential to its anti-slavery purification, and that abolitionists have pledged themselves to do all that is lawfully in their power for the abolition of slavery? Discord and division throughout our extended ranks! The same disastrous effect, to a considerable extent, has already been produced by the attempt to introduce a political test of membership into the Society.

In one thing abolitionists are perfectly agreed, namely, that duty to God and humanity requires of them fidelity to their anti-slavery principles and professions, in whatever sphere they may be called to act—in the church, or out of it—at the ballot-box, or away from it—in all places, under all circumstances, and at all times. No other agreement is practicable, among those whose religious and political sentiments so widely differ—none other is necessary to insure the onward progress of our sacred cause. Why, then, should there be any collision in our ranks, in reference to any extraneous question?

The unhappy controversy which has been carried on in this Commonwealth, during the past year, may have been regarded by you, dear brethren, as purely local or personal in its bearing. It has not been so viewed by us. So far as we have been called to participate in it, we have felt that, in resisting the efforts of those who have sought to destroy the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, we have been contending for the purity and integrity of our whole organization—of our common cause. We proceed to show, that if the Society has done any thing to justify a withdrawal of confidence from it, and especially the formation of a rival association, then the Parent Society and its auxiliaries, having departed as widely from the path of anti-slavery rectitude, should also be superseded by other organizations.

The first charge which was brought against the Society, as justifying a new organization in this State, was, that WOMEN were allowed to participate in its proceedings. For refusing to put a gag into their mouths, and for giving liberty to all *persons* to speak and act, in its meetings, for the emancipation of hundreds of thousands of enslaved men and women, it was declared, by those who have since seceded from us, to be 'a violation of good faith,' and 'connecting with our cause A MILL-STONE, to sink to the depths of a bottomless ocean the hopes of enslaved millions'!—so that 'the only alternative for the dissentients was, constant contention, silent submission, or final separation.'*

It is not our design, in this Address, to *argue* this or any other question, but sim

tion or holding office, under our National Constitution, because it contains no recognition of the government of God. Many members of the Society of Friends keep aloof from the polls, because the Constitution countenances slavery. Others have different reasons. Many conscientious individuals have kept away through disgust at the ordinary methods of electioneering.* They who subscribe to the doctrine of non-resistance also decline being voters at the polls. All these persons, (and none have shown themselves more efficient or indefatigable in our cause,) must be excluded from membership in the Anti-Slavery Society, by such a political test. To enforce it, therefore, would be a violation of the rights of conscience—at war with common sense and common charity—utterly nugatory as an expedient to stimulate political action—subversive of our anti-slavery platform—and disastrous to the hopes of our enslaved countrymen.

The charge against the Massachusetts A. S. Society, that it has become subservient to the principles of non-resistance, is utterly false. Whether those principles are right or wrong, *it lies not in the province of the Society to determine.* It has never, in any manner, directly or indirectly, given them its sanction. Every large majority of its members do not embrace them. Its resolutions, on the subject of political action, have ever been of the most uncompromising character. Its addresses to the anti-slavery electors of the Commonwealth, through its Board, have also been equally strong and emphatic. In short, it occupies precisely the same ground, on this subject, as other kindred associations. Its abolitionism, both morally and politically, is and ever has been of the purest and best quality, and marked by a vigor and efficiency unsurpassed, if equalled, in any other State. We do not speak boastingly in its behalf; but when the worst calumnies are circulated against it, and it is falsely represented by some who wear an abolition garb to have fallen to the earth, we may be pardoned for asking, with some degree of complacency—What State is so well abolitionized as Massachusetts? What Society contributes so much money to sustain the anti-slavery movement? Where has political abolitionism achieved such victories as in this State? What other Legislature, besides that of Massachusetts, has demanded the immediate abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia? Upon what State has the Parent Society hitherto relied so confidently for aid as Massachusetts?' The answers to these questions furnish the best refutations of the cruel aspersions which have been so profusely cast upon the Society.

This, then, is the true position of the Massachusetts A. S. Society:—It leaves its members free to act in their meetings, as they shall deem proper, and refuses to pass censure upon such of them as conscientiously abstain from using the elective franchise. For which of these acts, brethren, will you take up stones to cast at it? Because it thus acts, is it to be branded as a 'rotten-hearted, no-human-government, woman's rights institution'?*—or does it not deserve the approbation of every enlightened mind, and every genuine lover of freedom?

Brethren, the spirit which has sought to take the life of the Massachusetts A. S. Society, is now plotting the overthrow of the American Society, with all its auxiliaries! It has thrown its mask aside, and unblushingly declares that our sacred cause cannot be safely trusted in the hands of 'the common people'—the farmers, mechanics, and working-men—but must be placed under the control of a select body of men, in order to give it respectability and success! Such a proposition has been made in the Emancipator, and is to be carried, if possible, at the annual meeting of the Parent Society, in May next. We believe you will reject it with indignation as evil in its design, and fatal in its tendency.

In whatever part of the country you reside, we call upon you to rally at that meeting as one man, by all the sacrifices which you have made, and all the perils through which you have passed—by your abhorrence of bigotry and intolerance on the one hand, and political ambition and profligacy on the other—by the hopes which have been raised in the bosoms of the friends of freedom on both sides of the Atlantic, and of those who are pining in bondage on our own shores, in view of our national anti-slavery organization—by your faith in HIM who has chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty! Our cause is in peril among false brethren; and upon the result of the meeting in New York, great events will depend. They who are for placing it in other hands, or, in case they cannot succeed, are for annihilating the National Society in the expectation of disbanding every other, will spare no pains to muster as strong an array as possible, on that occasion. Will the true-hearted men and women, whose love for the anti-slavery cause has thus far surmounted every obstacle, and outlived all persecution, and whose purpose it is to stand by the old platform, come what may, be less prompt or numerous in their attendance? Never has there been a crisis like the present, and it must be met with unfaltering spirits and invincible courage.

The attack upon the integrity of our organization, brethren, will present itself in various forms, at our approaching anniversary; it being manifest that there are those among us, who care not in what manner they succeed in their disorganizing purposes. They have ceased to be animated by the catholic and disinterested spirit of genuine abolitionists. Having endeavored to create division among us, and not without success, they adduce it as a reason why we ought to consent to disband our forces. Be not deceived by any of their expedients. They will endeavor—

1. To get the vote reconsidered, by which women were declared, at the last anniversary of the Society, to be entitled to all the rights and privileges of membership. They assert that it was not in accordance with your wishes; that it was carried by a packed meeting; and they confidently maintain that you will obliterate it from the records of the Society at its next meeting. Should they be disappointed, however, they have intimated that they will secede, as they have done in this State, and start an American *Abolition* Society! They can do no less, if they do not mean openly to proclaim themselves men devoid of conscience,—judging them out of their own mouths; unless, indeed, they are willing, in the spirit of perfect toleration and christian magnanimity, to retrace their steps!

2. To pass resolutions, asserting the duty of abolitionists to engage in the politics of the country, conscientious scruples on the part of any to the contrary notwithstanding; with the deliberate intention to impeach the abolition integrity of such as religiously refrain from using their elective franchise, and in the hope of effecting their withdrawal from the Society. Or,

3. To limit the number of delegates to the annual meeting, after the manner of legislative bodies—they deeming it extremely unsafe to allow all *persons*, who are members of anti-slavery societies, to participate in its proceedings, according to present usage! They will offer an amendment to the Constitution, to this effect. Or,

4. To commit the Society in favor of a third political party, and thus accomplish its ruin by division. Or, at least,

5. To procure the sanction of the Society to the nomination of the Albany Convention, of anti-slavery candidates for the Presidency and Vice Presidency of the United States. Or,

6. To induce the Society to recommend to its auxiliaries, not to pass any judgment upon the political action of such abolitionists as choose to get up independent nominations, but to leave anti-slavery conventions to manage the machinery of politics. As if they were foreign to the design of our organization, to exercise a careful supervision over the political aspects of our cause, as well as over its moral and religious bearings! Or,

7. To disband the American Anti-Slavery Society, on the ground that it has been superseded by the State organizations, or that it is divided against itself, and therefore cannot and ought not to stand. Or,

8. To effect a secession from the Society, for the purpose of forming another, less broad in its platform, less tolerant in its spirit, and more under the control of the rulers in Church and State. Or,

9. To effect the formation of an 'Independent Anti-Slavery Board,' for conducting our enterprise, to be called 'The American Board of Commissioners for the Abolition of Slavery'—the same 'to be independent, possessing powers similar to those of the A. B. C. F. M.'—to be clothed with irresponsible power, and to have the right of perpetuating itself by filling its own vacancies!! Instead of State Societies, the Board to appoint State committees in each State, auxiliary to itself!!* Or,

10. To encourage the formation of sectarian societies, with a view to the speedy abandonment of existing organizations. Already, a Convention of Baptists has been summoned at New-York, for the purpose of forming an American Baptist Anti-Slavery Society! The Wesleyan Observer, in this State, of which Orange Scott is one of the editors, advocates the formation of an American Methodist Anti-Slavery Society! Then we may expect a proposition for forming an American Presbyterian, an American Unitarian, an American Whig, an American Democratic Anti-Slavery Society—&c. &c. &c. Against every sectarian or political scheme of this kind, we protest in the name of our common humanity. Whatever may be plausibly urged in its defence, or whatever may be the motives of those who favor it, we are constrained to regard it with disapprobation, and to speak of it in terms of condemnation. For it has been the boast and glory of the anti-slavery enterprise, that men of all sects and parties rally around its standard, forgetful of all sectarian and political differences; and who that has watched its astonishing growth but must acknowledge, that it has received the smiles of Heaven, and that it occupies the only ground upon which freemen and christians can either successfully or consistently unite for the deliverance of the oppressed millions in our land from chains and slavery?

We call upon you, brethren, to frown indignantly upon each and every attempt thus to dissolve our noble organization into its original elements, for the purpose of obstructing the growth of spiritual freedom and human progress—of gratifying personal envy or ambition—of fostering the great and relentless enemy of humanity, SECTARISM. If you would not see our broad platform in any degree narrowed—if you would preserve it from the spirit which is seeking to dash it into fragments—if you would still rally under an anti-sectarian banner, and unite with the wise and good of every name for the salvation of your country, and the deliverance of the oppressed—then you will throng to the anniversary of the Parent Society on the 12th of May next, in despite of hard times, from all parts of the country, in such numbers as to put down all machinations for the dissolution of an organization, which is the terror of the oppressor and bigot alike, and upon the existence of which depends, under God, in all probability, the peaceful abolition of slavery in the Republic.

In behalf of the Board, we are yours, fraternally,

FRANCIS JACKSON, *President.*

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, *Cor. Sec.*

* See the Emancipator of April 16th, 1840, in which this plan is proposed by Rev. David Root, an agent of the new organization, in this State, without a word of comment from the editor!

Folly.

The late meeting of the colored citizens of Boston, in reference to our course and the new organization, was one of the largest ever held by them on any occasion. The vote was unanimous in favor of the old society and the Liberator; yet the Abolitionist obstinately declares that their resolutions 'do *not* express the sentiments of *the* colored people of this city'! Suppose, then, our neighbor, with the aid of Mr. Beman, should try to bring '*the* colored people' out in favor of Mr. B. and the new organization, and allow the same opportunity for any person to speak his mind freely, pro or con, as was granted at the meeting above alluded to; and this he can very easily do, if their sentiments were *not* expressed by the concourse in the Belknap-street meeting-house! If no such meeting should hereafter be held, what must be the inference? Alluding to the attack of his anonymous colored correspondent, he says—'Surely a nameless writer must carry a good deal of THE FORCE OF TRUTH with him to set in such brisk motion so large a body as that represented in this meeting.' So, then, because when it was claimed by one of their number, in the Abolitionist, that they were in favor of the new organization, they promptly assembled to put down the libellous assertion, it only proves that the slanderer spoke a good deal of truth! 'We think his castigation,' says Mr. Wright, 'is working good fruits at the Liberator office. We saw a well-behaved colored clerk employed there last week.' Yes, and he might have seen him some weeks before. The insinuation is alike false and unmanly.

KEEP COOL. Our bro. Goodell, now that he has turned politician in good earnest, and been appointed on a political committee of arrangements in reference to the approaching presidential election, is waxing warm in spirit, strong in jealousy, and hypercritical in argument. In the last number of his paper, he attacks us with a vehemence which in our eyes is quite ludicrous, because, in publishing the communication of 'A Plain Man,' a few weeks ago, we spoke in commendatory terms of a portion of it, though wholly disagreeing with its conclusions, that abolitionists should go with their party. He acknowledges that, in commenting upon it, we advised abolitionists 'to bear a *faithful* testimony against the pro-slavery character of Mr. Van Buren and Gen. Harrison,' and also 'to remember their *principles* and *pledges*, and let the dead bury their dead:'—and then he goes on gravely to ask—'Is it not most marvellous that William Lloyd Garrison should have any sympathies in common with such a writer?' It is 'most marvellous' to us to see what a change has come over our bro. Goodell. 'Watchman, what of the night?'

On our first page, he will find another communication from 'A Plain Man,' from the advice of which to abolitionists, we as strongly dissent as bro. Goodell can himself, though we entertain great respect for the writer, who verily believes that he is doing our cause service by aiding the election of Gen. Harrison to the presidency. As for ourselves, we are satisfied that Gen. Harrison is as rotten as any slaveholder in the land on the subject of slavery, as facts, showing this to be the case, are daily coming to hand. How some of the whig papers at the North are disposed to regard the friends of emancipation, the reader may learn by referring to an article on our last page, from the New-Hampshire Statesman.

WORLD'S CONVENTION. We are exceedingly gratified to learn that there is some prospect that ROGERS, the editor of the Herald of Freedom, will be enabled to attend this grand assemblage; and if New-Hampshire shall have no other of her sons present, she will be represented by one who is truly *a host in himself.* How the heart of GEORGE THOMPSON will leap at the sight of the friend who stood by his side in his darkest and most perilous hour! Some friends in Portsmouth have contributed $50 towards defraying the expenses of his mission—friends in Dover promise $60—the students at Dartmouth College $50, and mean to make the sum $100, if practicable. Will our New-Hampshire friends remember that 'many hands make light work,' and that 'many a mickle makes a muckle'? Rogers has signified his readiness to go, if the necessary means can be provided They will be, we cannot doubt.

* Emancipator of April 11, 1839.

† Letter of Orange Scott in Zion's Herald.

BEAUTIFUL CONSISTENCY!!

OR THE ART OF BLOWING HOT AND COLD!

Specimen No. III.

'The Abolitionist will abstain from the discussion of all *irrelevant* and *extraneous* questions . . . It will be confined *entirely to the subject of slavery and abolition.*'—*Massachusetts Abolitionist, No.* 1.

'A *small* part of the paper will be devoted to this special object, [the duty of political action,] but will be *chiefly* occupied in efforts to clear up the *moral* atmosphere of the community by the force of *facts.*'—*Idem, No.* 14:

'If the old society wishes to *war upon us*, let it. It is and will be its ruin. . . . We beg all the agents and friends of the new society to spend as little breath as possible in combatting the old.'—*No.* 39.

'We regret to see the flames of contention between the old and new societies fanned up by a long series of resolutions, [alluding to some adopted at the last annual meeting of the Mass. A. S. Society]—limping and straddling monstrously to the wretched conclusion, that 'the success of the one depends upon the extinction of the other.'—*No.* 51.

'We do not expect *any* member of an anti-slavery society to be *all* that an abolitionist ought to be.'—*Idem, No.* 37.

'The truth is, the great body of those who adhere to the old society are with us in their convictions.' *Idem,* No. 24.

'*With the abstract question of the rightfulness of human governments*, the new organization has not meddled. It has *not* sought to crowd any body off from the anti-slavery platform for his opinions of *human governments.*'—*Idem, No.* 40.

'The Abolition Society is charged with making voting at the political elections a test of membership; and of laboring to procure the expulsion of all those who will not comply with this requisition; of setting up the use of the elective franchise as a *sine qua non* to every abolitionist, and of denying the name and character to all who fall short in this duty . . . If this charge be well-founded, it is readily admitted that the platform of the Society is too narrow and exclusive to include in its pale all classes or sexes of persons. But, so far from admitting its truth, I pronounce it A MISREPRESENTATION AND A SLANDER.'—*Idem, No.* 36.

'We do not understand why the *old* Massachusetts Society should quarrel with the *new* one . . . The idea that the new association is the offspring of a sectarian or clerical movement is entirely absurd, and resembles too closely the false charges against the whole body of abolitionists by our pro-slavery opponents.'—*No.* 18.—*Whittier.*

'It is a question we are more and more inclined to answer in the affirmative. Will not peace and harmony, and the interest of the oppressed millions, be consulted by *ceasing from strife*, and letting those who think that the present society sanction views which are destructive to 'accomplishment,' withdraw and make a platform which is not quite so 'catholic' as to let what they hold indispensable to success fall through?'—*Idem, No.* 15.

'There is, in the following communication in the Liberator, sound sense and good advice, which, if taken in good faith, by *both sides*, would soon put an end to an unhappy controversy:—'Brethren are going to war in words and spirit with each other's opinions and sentiments, and that, too, before the unbelieving oppressor. O brethren, *these things ought not so to be.* We should not waste our time, and strength, and energies, *in worse than useless personal controversy*, while our poor and degraded fellow-beings are pining in ruthless bondage.'—*Idem, No.* 25.

'It is not the design of the publishers of the Abolitionist to wage a contest with the editor of the Liberator. They propose to adhere strictly to the subject of *emancipation*, apart from all others of a controversial nature. If they will follow this rule, singly and undeviatingly—and we are warranted in the belief that they will, both from their professions and well-established character as abolitionists—their paper will be a valuable and powerful auxiliary to the good cause.'—*Lundy.*

'It [the Abolitionist] would be less likely to interfere with the circulation of the Liberator, or be diverted from its main object by *local contentions*, [by locating it in Worcester,] of which, by the bye, we are glad to see the first number so free.'—*No.* 10. *W. Goodell.*

'It is perfectly plain that the Constitution of the American Anti-Slavery Society is general and unrestricted in its terms. *There is nothing in it to prevent women from coming into the Society, and doing in it all that men can do* . . . Though we feel aggrieved, we counsel forgiveness, peace and amnesty on this subject . . . We think our brethren, who consider it a sin and shame for women to speak in public, may safely leave the prevention of it to Him who has made us all—HE *will do it better than they can.*' —*Idem, No.* 15.

The Massachusetts A. S. Society is '*a clique of non-resistant, no-human-government, no-political-action abolitionists.*'—*Massachusetts Abolitionist, No.* 62.

'The Mass. A. S. Society is not what *it was when we joined it* . . . Our principles and measures are the same now as when we joined the society—we have not left our brethren —*they have left us.*'—*Idem,* No. 21.

'After some consultation in regard to the formation of another State A. S. Society *on the basis of the American Society*, from which the existing State Society was believed to have *widely departed*,' &c. No. 16.

'The reason alleged by the founders of the Abolition Society for this movement is, that the old society has departed from THE PRINCIPLES on which it was originally constituted.' No. 19.

'We cannot, for our lives, see how, if we were members of the Non-Resistance Society, *we could be members of the Anti-Slavery Society* . . . Our definition of conscience does not allow us to BELIEVE that any man can be *conscientiously* opposed to political action.' *Idem,* No. 30.

'Those freemen who refuse to act politically when they have an opportunity to vote against slavery, are *recreant to the principles of civil liberty and human rights.*' *Idem,* No. 48.

'It seems the greatest nonsense in the world to suppose that non-resistance sentiments do not *disqualify a man for pursuing the anti-slavery object* in the way proposed in the anti-slavery constitution. *Their holder is self-ejected from the anti-slavery society.*' *Idem,* No. 37.

'*If men can learn to swim without touching liquid*, they may be GOOD ABOLITIONISTS *without fulfilling their political obligations.*'—*Idem,* No. 27.

'Voting is as much included in the political action pledged in the Constitution [of the National Society,] as steps are included in a journey, or minutes in an hour.—*Idem,* No. 17.

'No man can divest himself of political power, *without a dereliction of duty, as a man and as an abolitionist* . . . Your [the non-resistant's] adoption of *a false theory* has made you A TRAITOR to the practical pledge fairly laid down in the Constitution.' 'So far as it [the non-resistance doctrine] prevails, it *more effectually nullifies the right of petition* THAN DID THE ATHERTON GAG.' —*Idem,* No. 34.

'Let us talk no more of Atherton gags, since they [the non-resistants] are MORE EFFECTUALLY GAGGING THEMSELVES.' *Idem,* No. 28.

'They [the non-resistance views] stand in direct contrariety to the leading measure originally proposed by the anti-slavery societies, and if acted upon by the mass of abolitionists, THE SLAVE IS LEFT TO HOPELESS AND INTERMINABLE BONDAGE.'—*Ab. Extra.*

'We have witnessed, with grief unspeakable, the perversion, in this State, of our associations to purposes and objects not contemplated in our bond of union, *foreign to our original objects*, NOT NECESSARY TO THEIR ATTAINMENT, and, in the view of the reflecting, FATAL TO OUR PROSPECTS OF ULTIMATE SUCCESS.'—*Abolitionist Extra.*

'We should be *recreant to God and oppressed humanity*, if we failed to use the elective franchise, and to urge others to use it, in accordance with our original and uniformly expressed views, whenever a proper opportunity occurs to wield it for the benefit of the slave . . . We think it will appear evident that those who now repudiate, or even look coldly upon political action, have abandoned, on this subject, *the original doctrines and measures of our associations.*'—*Idem.*

'I have no confidence in the present anti-slavery movements and measures of Wm. Lloyd Garrison, and his particular party, as a remedy for slavery; for *he destroys with one hand what he builds up with the other.*'—*Idem,* No. 21.

'It is time all the world should understand, that abolitionists will not give their patronage to publications which are as reckless in their sentiments and tendency as the Liberator.' *Idem,* No. 10.

'We shall move [in favor of new organization] the *ladies* too—*i. e.* THOSE OF THEM WHO HAVE ANY SENSE OF PROPRIETY. And there are many thousand such in Massachusetts. As for those whose *fine sensibilities* lead them to wish to crowd themselves forward, and speak, and act, on committees, in conventions with men, why, we expect they will go for Garrison and the Liberator, as a matter of course.' —*Idem,* No. 21.

Allowing women to vote and speak, &c. is 'A MILLSTONE to sink to the depths of a bottomless ocean the hopes of enslaved millions' —*Ab. Extra.*

Mr. May's Discourse on the Death of Dr. Follen.

Agreeably to public notice, a Discourse was delivered in the Marlboro' Chapel, upon the life and character of Dr. FOLLEN, on Friday evening last, by our brother SAMUEL J. MAY, before the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. Not less than two thousand persons were present. The services were of a highly interesting and impressive character. Prayers were offered by Henry Ware and Joshua V. Himes; and two original hymns (one written by John Pierpont, and read by him—the other written by Maria W. Chapman, and read by Dr. Channing) were sung in excellent taste. The Discourse was an admirable performance, and eminently worthy of the exalted character of the lamented Follen. As a copy has been requested for publication by the Board of Managers, we shall defer our commendations of it until we are enabled to lay some extracts from it before our readers. We have no doubt that it will obtain a wide circulation, and wherever read will redound to the praise of its author, and the excellent man whose virtues it celebrates.

Generous Conduct.

We alluded to the following magnanimous conduct in our last number.

ELLIS GRAY LORING, ESQ.

In conformity with a vote of the Corporation, and agreeably to my own feelings, I hereby transmit you a copy of a vote passed this day by them.

Respectfully yours,

JOHN S. KIMBALL.

At a meeting of the Corporation of 'the Marlboro' Chapel in Boston,' held this day, (April 9,) the following preamble and resolution were unanimously adopted:

Whereas, we learn from the newspapers, that the friends of the late Dr. CHARLES FOLLEN, desirous of having a Eulogy pronounced upon their deceased friend, by the Rev. SAMUEL J. MAY, have presented a request to all the Unitarian churches in the city, for the use of a house of worship for that laudable purpose, and have been refused the privilege they ask; therefore,

Resolved, That this corporation do tender the use of their chapel, at such time as may be convenient, to the friends of the said deceased, that it may be used by them for the purpose of hearing a Eulogy pronounced upon the character and virtues of a man whom we regard as an honor to the land of his birth, to the country of his adoption, and to the age in which he lived. A true copy,

Attest, JOHN. S. KIMBALL, *Clerk.*

BOSTON, April 9, 1840.

At a meeting of the Board of Managers of the Massachusetts A. S. Society, April 21, 1840, the following resolutions were adopted:

Resolved, That this Board would express its cordial thanks to the Marlboro' Chapel corporation, for the liberal offer of their Hall for the delivery of Mr. May's Discourse on the life and character of the late Dr. Follen; and that the Recording Secretary be requested to communicate a copy of this resolution to the proper officer of the corporation.

Resolved, That the Corresponding Secretary of the Massachusetts A. S. Society be requested to present the thanks of this Board to SAMUEL J. MAY, for his very interesting Discourse upon the Life and Character of the late Dr. FOLLEN, delivered at the Marlboro' Chapel on Friday evening last, and request him to furnish a copy for the press.

A true copy.

Attest. O. JOHNSON, *Sec. pro tem.*

EXTRAORDINARY CONDUCT. We are credibly informed, (though the fact seems almost incredible,) that at a meeting of the Unitarian society in East Lexington, called by a friend of the late Dr. FOLLEN, for the purpose of inviting SAMUEL J. MAY to pronounce his Eulogy in that place, upon the life and character of Dr. FOLLEN, who founded the society, and had for some time supplied their pulpit, and was to have been their pastor, the proposition was contemptuously rejected by moving an adjournment! Of course, the reason why this insult was offered to the memory of the dead, and to the character of the living, (at least, so we surmise,) was, that the part which Dr. FOLLEN took in the anti-slavery cause would in all probability be dwelt on with fervor and delight in the Eulogy—a part which they have no humanity to appreciate, which they seem to regard as disreputable, but which will ever redound to the praise of him who, though dead, yet speaks in earnest and eloquent tones in behalf of a people 'scattered, pealed, meted out, and trodden under foot.'

TRIBUTE OF PRAISE. Those who were present on the occasion referred to in the following resolution (adopted by the Board of the Mass. A. S. Society) will heartily concur in its object. Although the Choir was composed of volunteers, brought together at a few hours' notice, the music could hardly have been selected with better judgment, or performed in a manner better suited to the occasion. Mr. Long, and indeed the choir generally, deserve the cordial thanks of all who cherish the memory of the lamented Follen, for so generously proffering their valuable aid in enhancing the interest of services designed to commemorate his life and character.

Resolved, That the thanks of this Board be presented to Mr. D. C Long, Organist, and to the singers, whose tasteful and appropriate performances added so much to the interest of the meeting held on Friday evening last in commemoration of the life and character of the late Dr. Follen; and that the Rec. Sec. be requested to communicate a copy of this resolution to Mr. Long, and to the editor of the Liberator for publication.

LETTER OF GERRIT SMITH. We sincerely regret that, in consequence of the length of the Address of the Board of Managers, and the number of communications in type, we are unable to accompany this letter with a Reply, in our present number; we regret it, we say, because it is quite apparent that our friend Smith has become somewhat inflated with the idea, that his exposition of the Anti-Slavery Constitution is unanswerable! Nay, we are assured that he has privately boasted, that we cannot refute his arguments, and therefore keep silent! Now, whether we are able to convict him of dealing in sophistry or not, we assure him that our silence has not been in consequence of deeming his constitutional exposition at all formidable: for we regard it as palpably absurd and fallacious, as it is at war with the genius of the anti-slavery enterprise. If he will indulge us a little longer, we intend exhibiting his numerous inconsistencies in a manner that will satisfy all our readers, we think, as well as himself, that he is prone to 'turning, turning,' (according to his own confession,) *rather too often* for a star of the first magnitude!

THE CLOVEN FOOT REVEALED. We have copied from the Emancipator, the proposition of the Rev. David Root, an agent of the New Organization in this State, for abolishing all existing anti-slavery societies, and substituting in their place an 'American Board of Commissioners for the abolition of slavery,' irresponsible, self-perpetuating, having State Boards as auxiliaries, created by itself!!! We should like to look at the countenances of the tried friends of our cause, while they are reading a proposition of this kind! It only proves what we have repeatedly stated, that the spirit of new organization is factious and desperate, and that the whole movement originated in clerical and sectarian exclusiveness. We have now got at the *root* of the matter! Very well—the axe shall be laid at the root in due season.

HOW TO EFFECT A RECONCILIATION. The editor of the Abolitionist exclaims, 'Blessed are the peacemakers!' because the Cazenovia Herald speaks of the Liberator and the Abolitionist as among the best periodicals in Boston! He then winningly styles the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society as 'a clique of non-resistant, no-human-government, no-political-action abolitionists'! The Liberator is quite as *bad*, in these particulars, as the Society, and yet as *good* as the Abolitionist, 'and worthy of more extensive patonage'! So thinks our neighbor!

☞ Remember the Monthly Concert.

Special Meeting of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society.

At the Marlboro' Chapel, Hall No. 1, *Saturday, April* 11, 1840.

In the absence of the officers of last year, Mrs. H. G. Chapman called the meeting to order, and moved that a President pro tem., be chosen. Mrs. D. L. Child was called to the chair, and Caroline Weston chozen Secretary pro tem. The meeting was opened with reading the scriptures, by Mrs. Johnson, and prayer by Mrs. Ordway.

Mrs. Child called for minutes of the last meeting, made by Mrs. Chapman. After examination, they were unanimously accepted.

A roll of the meeting was then made out, that it might be known of whom it consisted. 120 old members were enrolled, [*since, increased to* 150,] during which several ladies, by permission, addressed the Society.

The minutes of the meeting succeeding the annual meeting, involving the correctness of the record of the annual meeting, and the election of Miss Parker and others as officers, being now in order, were considered. The motion to accept them, made at the meeting of January, was put, and unanimously rejected, on the ground that they suppressed 17 votes. A report of the present position of the Society was then presented by Mrs. Chapman, and unanimously accepted, and voted to be published in the Liberator, Emancipator, and all the other anti-slavery papers.

On motion, a full account of our past proceedings was ordered to be prepared for the Society.

The Society then proceeded to the election of officers, (the rejection of the aforesaid *minutes* having left the Society without officers.] The following persons were chosen:

Mrs. THANKFUL SOUTHWICK, *President.*
Mrs. MARY A. W. JOHNSON, *Vice President.*
Miss HENRIETTA SARGENT, *Cor. Secretary.*
Mrs. LOUISA M. SEWALL, *Rec. Secretary.*
Mrs. ELIZA F. MERRIAM, *Treasurer.*

COUNCILLORS.

Miss H. Tufts, Mrs. Eliza Philbrick,
Mrs. Searlett, Mrs. J. V. Himes,
Miss Caroline Weston, Miss Caroline Williams.

On motion, it was voted, that delegates from the Society to the annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society be appointed.

The following persons were chosen. Thankful Southwick, Caroline Weston, Susan Paul, Anne W. Weston, M. A. W. Johnson, Mary G. Chapman, Lavinia Hilton, A. B. Ordway, Miss Smith, Eliza F. Merriam, L. M. Child, Henrietta Sargent, Anna Mann.

The following resolutions were then adopted.

1. Resolved, That, acknowledging the justice and the necessity of immediate emancipation, we hereby renewedly pledge ourselves to aid and assist in this righteous cause, as far as lies within our power. [See preamble to our constitution, adopted in 1833.]

2. Resolved, That our position as anti-slavery *women* continually exposing us to attack from those who would throw obstacles in our way, and prevent the exercise of our power in behalf of the cause, we think it well to renew our testimony of 1835; believing now, as then, 'that, in a conflict of principles, scripture teaches that there is neither foreigner nor native, male nor female, bond nor free; but that all are one in Christ Jesus; and therefore think ourselves called, in common with man, to labor and to suffer as all must, who effectually defend the truth.'

3. Resolved, That we are, as we ever have been, in perfect harmony with the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society—the American Anti-Slavery *Society*"—and the whole affiliated system of *old organization*, which opposes no hindrance to our labors for emancipation—which admits our co-operation, and which is, in our estimation, an effectual instrumentality for the abolition of American Slavery.

4. Resolved, That while we condemn the scheme of *new organization* without qualification, as being as much more detrimental to the cause of the slave than Colonization, as disguised is worse than universally detected enmity, we yet believe that many who have been misled by the leaders and instigators of that scheme will soon see their mistake, and out of good and honest hearts bring forth fruit a hundred fold, to the dismay of those who have deceived them.

5. Resolved, That, as in 1835, 'we deeply sympathize with WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, our esteemed friend and fellow-laborer for human rights, in all that he has suffered for our holy cause,' whether from the violence of its open enemies, or from the treachery of its pretended friends, and that, for the promotion of the anti-slavery cause, we renew our customary annual subscription for 50 copies of the Liberator.

6. Resolved, That we will, as many of us as can conveniently and conscientiously do so, attend the Union Monthly concert for the slave, on the last Monday evening of each month.

7. Resolved, That we will co-operate with the MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR, of 1840, for the benefit of the slave.

THANKFUL SOUTHWICK, *Pres.*
LOUISA M. SEWALL, *Rec. Sec.*

* An explanatory motion was here made, that the word Society be italicised, that no one might suppose we approved of the course of the Executive Committee of that Society.

WILLIAM SLADE. We heartily respond to the sentiments contained in the spirited letter of our uncompromising friend Duvall, respecting Mr. Slade's fulsome and unmerited eulogy upon Gen. Harrison, in connection with his anti-slavery speech in Congress. Our notice of the speech was a very brief one, and only preliminary to further comments in a subsequent number.

PENNSYLVANIA FREEMAN. We are glad to perceive that an official invitation has been given to our friend Charles C. Burleigh to become the editor of the Freeman, and trust he will accept of it, at least for a time. Every thing now depends upon the integrity of the anti-slavery *press.*

TO CORRESPONDENTS. Among the communications we have on file for insertion are a letter from William Goodell to David Lee Child, and a reply from 'A Plain Man' to the animadversions of the editor of the Friend of Man upon his communication in the Liberator of the 27th ultimo. We are greatly obliged to our friend Joshua Coffin for his communication, which shall be attended to according to his wishes.

BOSTON FEMALE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

A special meeting of this Society is hereby notified, at the Marlboro' Chapel, Hall No. 2, on Saturday next, April 25th, at 3 o'clock, P. M. for the transaction of business, and the divising and discussion of means for the vigorous prosecution of the cause.

THANKFUL SOUTHWICK, *Pres.*
LOUISA M. SEWALL, *Rec. Sec.*

UNION ANTI-SLAVERY CONCERT.

The Union A. S. Monthly Concert will be held at Hall No. 2 of the Marlboro' Chapel, on Monday evening next, at half past 7 o'clock. The monthly collectors are expected to make their returns.

J. A. COLLINS.

Obituary.

DIED—In Charlestown, April 9, of consumption, in the 22d year of her age, Mrs. Maria B. wife of W. S. Jinnings. Her illness, though short, was severe She bore it with christian resignation and meekness truly remarkable. She died in the triumphs of faith, and longed to ascend to the blest mansions of ethereal bliss. Though her mind was sometimes affected by her disease, yet during the intervals of relief, she seemed to wrestle in the spirit, indulging in the most fervent prayers for the salvation of her immortal soul, and to the last moments of her existence delighted in religious conversation. She lived an exemplary life, was a pattern of virtue, performed in an eminent degree the duty of a wife, a kind mother, and was in every respect a useful member of society, and beloved by all who knew her. Though she has left numerous friends to mourn her loss, they have this blessed consolation—they cannot mourn as those without hope. Their loss is her unspeakable gain.—*Com.*

In this city, on Saturday, the 18th inst. Mr. William Lewis, aged 27. Suddenly cut down in the beauty and prime of life, he has left many friends to mourn his departure. His remains were taken to the Belknap-street meeting-house, where solemn services were performed in the presence of a large audience, by Rev. Mr. Black of this city, and Rev. Mr. Parker of Cambridgeport.—*Com.*

NOTICES.

TO SUBSCRIBERS.

It having been ascertained that frequent mistakes have occurred, in reference to the accounts of subscribers to the Liberator, in consequence mainly of the inadvertence of collecting agents, in former years, the undersigned have concluded to omit, for the present, the publication of the names of delinquents as recently proposed. Instead of this, they will omit sending the paper to those who have not paid their subscriptions. If any *paying* subscriber finds his paper stopped, he will please give immediate notice to the General Agent, No. 25, Cornhill, Boston.

FRANCIS JACKSON,
SAMUEL PHILBRICK,
ELLIS GRAY LORING,
WILLIAM BASSETT,
EDMUND QUINCY,
} *Committee.*

Boston, April 24, 1840.

New-England Anti-Slavery Convention.

The Seventh Annual Meeting of the New-England Anti-Slavery Convention will be held in the city of Boston, on TUESDAY, the 29th of May next, at 10 o'clock, A. M. and will probably continue two or three days. The various anti-slavery societies in New-England, and the friends of the cause generally, are cordially and earnestly invited to be strongly represented on the occasion.

SAMUEL FESSENDEN,
President of the Maine A. S. Society.
NATHANIEL P. ROGERS,
Cor. Sec. of the New-Hampshire A. S. Society.
FRANCIS JACKSON,
President of the Massachusetts A. S. Society.
WM. LLOYD GARRISON,
Cor. Sec. of do.
PELEG CLARKE,
President of the Rhode-Island A. S. Society.
WILLIAM APLIN,
Rec. Sec. of do.
JOHN T. NORTON,
President of the Connecticut A. S. Society.
S. S. COWLES,
Cor. Sec. of do.

☞ Editors of newspapers friendly to the anti-slavery cause, are requested to give the above an insertion in their columns.

NORFOLK COUNTY A. S. SOCIETY.

The Norfolk County Anti-Slavery Society will hold their quarterly meeting in the second congregational church in Quincy, on Friday, April 24th. All friends of the cause are requested to attend.

J. V. MARSHALL, *Rec. Sec.*

MIDDLESEX COUNTY A. S. SOCIETY.

A quarterly meeting of the Middlesex Co. Anti-Slavery Society will be held at the Rev. Mr. Thurston's meeting-house, in Lowell, on TUESDAY, the 28th day of April, at 10 o'clock, A. M.

The anti-slavery societies throughout the county are respectfully requested to send full delegations to the meeting; and all persons, without distinction of sex, sect, or party, are cordially invited to attend.

HARRIS COWDREY, *Secretary.*

Acton, April 2, 1840.

WORCESTER SOUTH DIVISION ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Worcester County South Division Anti-Slavery Society, will hold a Convention and its annual meeting in Westboro', on 5th day (Thursday,) the 30th inst. at 10 o'clock, A. M. Auxiliary Societies are requested to send delegates. Able advocates from Boston are expected to be present, and probably will address the meeting.

EDWARD EARLE, *Sec'ry.*

Worcester, 4 mo. 21, 1840.

PROPOSALS

FOR PUBLISHING A SELECTION FROM THE WRITINGS OF THE LATE DR. FOLLEN.

BESIDES various articles which Dr. Follen has furnished to periodical journals in our country, he left a large number of manuscripts, many of which would need no alteration to prepare them for the press. It is thought that a selection from these manuscripts, with a republication of some of the articles which have already appeared in print, would be welcomed by his friends as a grateful means of preserving and extending the influence of his mind.

Many of his sermons, his lectures on Moral Philosophy, on Schiller and on Switzerland, were completed. He had also made considerable progress in the preparation of a work on Psychology, the introduction to which was completed, and which it was his earnest desire to finish.

It is proposed to collect such of these writings as shall appear most suitable for publication, and to prefix to them a memoir, prepared by Mrs. FOLLEN. They will probably fill four duodecimo Volumes, of 300 to 400 pages each, and be divided as follows, viz:

1 vol. of sermons and other theological writings.
1 do on German Literature, including Lectures on Schiller.
1 do on Moral Philosophy, and kindred

POETRY.

From the Pennsylvania Freeman.

COGITATIONS

Of the Curators of the Chester County Cabinet of Natural Sciences.

We acknowledge our blunder, we see how we missed it,
We should not have given the grant;
And if fortune will favor us some way to twist it,
To stop this fanatical rant,
We'll be careful in future, that no abolition
Discussion shall have our explicit permission.

We cannot see why the people are getting
So much Free Discussion to do,
Nor can we imagine why many are fretting
Themselves about slavery so;
For surely the world gazing on us may see
That the nation is prosperous, happy, and free.

There's only a sixth of our whole population,
Two millions or three, that are slaves;
Then why all this bluster, disturbing the nation,
This calling the dead from their graves;—
This rhetorical flourishing, delving in figures,
About the rights of the people, including 'the niggers?'

What of the boasted right of assembling,
And what of the freedom of speech?
Our fears for our property, nothing dissembling,
Whatever the moralists preach,
Outweigh such abstractions, for what are they all
Compared with the fate of our beautiful Hall?

The building's in danger, who ventures to doubt it?
Two people of color are in;
And why may not mobocrats flocking about it,
The work of destruction begin?
Then why not prevent any breach of the laws,
By simply removing the proximate cause?

We pity the slave in his prison-house pining,
And if ever the proper time come,
We'll be found with the freest and foremost, combining
Our voices to plead for the dumb;
But our hearts fail within us, and fitfully throb,
At even the name of the merciless mob.

We feel for the fugitive steadfastly keeping
His way, so with treachery fraught,—
We feel for the slave, mother Rachael-like weeping
For children, because they are not;
From our stated agreement, we would not have swerved,
But our 'Natural Curiosities' must be preserved.

We are tired of their cant and their insolent jargon,
We thought they were all of them white:
And though, the world over, a bargain's a bargain,
We are not to be trifled with quite;
So to end all disputes with the fanatic sinners,
We'll lock up the Hall while they're gone to their dinners.

From the North Star.

STANZAS,

TO THE ABOLITIONISTS OF AMERICA.

BY WM. H. BURLEIGH.

Toil and pray!
Groweth flesh and spirit faint?
Think of her who pours her plaint
All the day—
Her—the wretched negro wife,
Robbed of all that sweetens life—
Her—who weeps in anguish wild
For the husband and the child
Torn away!—

Nature's ties,
Binding heart with kindred heart,
Rent remorselessly apart—
Tears and sighs,
Shrieks and prayers unheeded given,
Calling out from earth to heaven—
All that speaks the slave's distress—
All that in his cup doth press
Agonies—

Woe and blight,
Broken heart and palsied mind,
Reason crushed and conscience blind,
Darkest night
Shutting from the spirit's eye,
Light and glory from on high—
Think of these—and *falter not!*
Toil—until the slave is brought
Up to light!

What though Hate
Darkly scowls upon your path?
Fear not ye the tyrant's wrath—
Hope, and wait—
For, though long the strife endure,
Freedom's triumph shall be sure—
Toil in faith, for God hath spoken,
Every fetter shall be broken,
Soon or late.

Not in vain
Hath been heard your voice of warning—
Lo! a better day is dawning,
And again
Shall be heard, from sea to sea,
Loudest songs of jubilee
Bursting from a franchised nation,
As it leaps in exultation
From the chain!

WINTER AND SPRING.

BY HANNAH F. GOULD.

'Adieu,' father Winter said
To the world when about to quit it;
With his old white wig half off his head,
As if never made to fit it.

'Adieu! I'm going to the rocks and caves,
To leave all here behind me;
Or perhaps I shall sink in the northern waves
So deep that none can find me!'

'Good luck! good luck to your hoary locks,'
Said the gay young Spring advancing,
'Go, take your nap mid the caves and rocks,
While I o'er the earth am dancing.

'There is not a spot where your foot has trod,
You hard, old, clumsy fellow,
Not a hill or a single sod,
But I have got to mellow.

'And I shall spread them o'er with grass,
That will look so fresh and cheering;
None will regret that they let you pass
Far out of sight and hearing.

'The fountains that you lock up so tight,
When I shall give them a sunning,
Will sparkle and play in my gladdening light,
And the brooks will set a running.

'I'll speak in the ground to the hidden root,
Where you have kept it sleeping;
And bid it send up the tender shoot,
And set the wild vine creeping.

'The boughs that you caked all o'er with ice,
Till 't was chilling even to behold them,
I shall stick them all round with buds so nice,
My breath alone can unfold them.

'And when the tree is in blossoms dressed,
The bird, with her songs so merry,
Will come on its limb to build her nest,
By the sign of the future cherry.

'The air and the earth by their joyfulness,
Shall show the good I am doing,
And the skies beam down with their smiles to bless
The course that I'm pursuing!'

Said Winter, then, 'I would have you learn,
By me, my gay new comer,
To push off, too, when it comes your turn,
And yield your place to Summer.'

MISCELLANY.

For the Liberator.

Defence of the Society of Friends.

RESPECTED FRIEND, W. L. GARRISON:

It is with emotions which I am unable to describe, but which I am well satisfied, in my own mind, partake neither of the mortified pride of sectarian feeling, on the one hand, nor, on the other, of that virulence of party spirit, which has so cruelly rent and divided the anti-slavery ranks; that I, who am but a little one, and not worthy to class with the noble champions of this interesting cause, have felt myself impelled to offer my sentiments upon a subject which has long borne heavily upon my own mind, as I know it has to the grief of many others, who are much better abolitionists than I have ever presumed to consider myself. I allude to the severe and caustic rebukes which are unceasingly poured through the columns of the Liberator, upon every person, whether friend or foe to the general principles of anti-slavery doctrines, unless they can run as fast or go as far as its powerful and talented editor.

Difference of opinion, as to the best means of attaining the same end, may and frequently does occur between the most honest and conscientious members, even of the same family; but, when the individuals so circumstanced are truly (as christians *must* be) the humble, baptized followers of the blessed Saviour of men, there will be no acrimonious strictures upon each other's mode of doing that which each conscientiously believes himself to be doing in strict conformity with the will of his Divine Master. And, however widely they may differ, each one will still respect the feelings of his brother, and charitably accord unto him that liberty which he claims for himself. Most unfortunately, our eastern brethren have fallen out by the way; and, although many of them, of both parties, have suffered long and deeply for their devotion to the anti-slavery cause, yet such is the deceptive and subtle nature of that spirit of enmity which the arch enemy has secretly infused into the minds of some of the most noble of its champions, that each strikes his brother as 'with the fist of wickedness,' and, like the madman in the fable, throwing fire-brands, thinking it no harm, believes he is rebuking him in the spirit of the gospel. But I apprehend that the peaceable spirit and wisdom of Jesus would not own such measures; neither can they be approved by any, who are not themselves engulphed in the vortex of sectarian bigotry, and deluded into the opinion of their own unprejudiced, immaculate purity—whereas, others, who have kept themselves clear of the subject of such a controversy, can see, with half an eye, that bigotry and the strength of opinion may manifest its power, even under the garb of anti-sectarianism.

I have been induced to make the foregoing remarks, preliminary to some strictures which I have to offer respecting some of the resolutions of the Essex County Anti-Slavery Society, published in your last paper, and which have received the meed of applause and approbation, which, with all my strength of attachment for the Liberator, and for its noble-minded editor, I am not able to respond to; as some of the charges included either in the resolutions, or the arguments by which they appear to have been sustained, are incorrect in their assumptions, and false in point of fact—as will be made manifest by the brief notice which I will now proceed to take of the said resolutions.

'Resolved, That the anti-slavery cause is the cause of God,' &c. Although it is certainly true that this cause is not antagonist to any sect or party, not inherently corrupt, I do not believe that it must necessarily follow, that every body of professing Christians, which has not taken efficient action in behalf of the slave, agreeably to the sentiments held forth by resolutions adopted by this or that particular anti-slavery society, ought to be condemned with such denunciations as the concluding part of the resolution appears to do.

'Resolved, That the Society of Friends,' &c. Here the spirit of severe, undiscriminating censure falls with vituperative and wanton attack upon a religious society, in the mass, because many of its most influential members cannot cover the Procrustean bed upon which some of the reformers of the present day seem disposed to stretch them. And, notwithstanding the well known fact, that the Society here, as well as in other places, as a body, are the avowed advocates for the slave, and individually are almost to a man the decided and unflinching friends of emancipation, yet, because they have not seen it right for them to do certain things, as some others think they ought to have done, they are denounced as 'unchristian,' and to have forfeited all claim to the character they have so long held; and further, that they, so far from being now the friends of the colored people, are their decided enemies and oppressors, and deservedly stigmatized as a 'corrupt pro-slavery sect.'

The next resolution was perhaps intended to qualify these bitter invectives by the admission, that, in this society, corrupt and degenerate as it is, there are a few faithful and active abolitionists, who are said to be worthy of being classed with Fox, Penn, &c. It is not my intention to detract from the merits of any of my brethren, nor from the general good character of the members of the Anti-Slavery Society, in making the assertion, that it does not follow as a necessary consequence, that activity and zeal in the cause of the slave must render such person worthy of equality with the worthies who have been alluded to; because it is well known, that even infidels have acted with great energy in behalf of the rights of man, and been considered worthy of rank as abolitionists. Yet who would think of classing them with such philanthropists as Woolman, Benezet, Lay, and a host of such characters as might be named, whose mild but energetic devotion to the cause of the oppressed has rendered their memory more precious and enduring, than any of the patriotic characters before alluded to, whose highest ambition was the applause of their fellow creatures, without reference to the christian principle of doing good for Christ's sake.

Amongst other charges 'tabled,' I was particularly struck with that relating to 'the Friend, the orthodox organ at Philadelphia having long since espoused the Colonization Society,' which, to me, a constant reader of the 'Friend,' was something so entirely new, that, had it not emanated from such a high authority, I should not have believed it—never having heard it intimated before; on the contrary, it is generally considered by the Anti-Slavery brotherhood here, as decidedly in favor of the genuine cause of abolition. Another cause of surprise was the assertion, that a certain person, whose name is mentioned, 'is a member in good standing.' I feel very loth to say any thing so grossly personal and derogatory to the character even of the individual alluded to, as it would be to call in question the truth of such a charge. I am a member of the same meeting in which I suppose he has a *nominal* right of membership; but, as he is most of the time absent from home, he is seldom seen at our meetings for worship or discipline. The last time I recollect to have seen him at one of the latter description was soon after his return from England, at which time he attempted to create an influence in favor of Colonization, but was so promptly rebuked by one of the elders, that I think he has never shewn himself amongst us since. Such is the 'good standing' in our Society of this celebrated character.

This letter has already far exceeded the length I had intended; yet there are several points on which, had I time and space, I should like to offer a few remarks; but as I have neither, will briefly say before I close, that, as to the compliments alleged to have been paid to the Society of Friends, by Martin Van Buren, Clay, and others of that class, they are known to be, to us, as the wind that passeth by, and none regardeth it. A number of testimonies, given forth from our different yearly meetings, have shown in a very decisive manner how the Society of Friends feel in regard to this great national sin—the sin of slavery.

I am not certain that I rightly comprehend the meaning of the phrase,—'Manifest a disposition to discipline its anti-slavery members'—neither do I know what may have occurred amongst our eastern brethren to occasion it; but, I am very confident that nothing has happened here to justify an imputation of the kind, and it is exceedingly doubtful whether any thing has ever given just cause for such an insinuation. Advice in regard to any thing, either in our conduct or conversation, which appears inconsistent or extravagant, it is our duty to extend to each other; but the duty of giving advice unasked, is proverbially an onerous service; and, unfortunately, that meek and quiet spirit, which would enable us to receive the rebukes of our friends in a becoming manner, is but too frequently absent, and self, supported by pride of opinion, rules incontinently. When that is the case, whether the occasion be important or trivial, the admonitions given are almost sure to be construed differently from what was intended. And it is, I apprehend, rather more than probable, that such has been the foundation of the imputations which are alluded to in the charge, which I have been endeavoring to unravel and explain away.

I am aware of the danger I encounter in thus rousing a lion; but the confidence I feel, that, however differently we may view these things, my motives will be duly appreciated by my friend Garrison, affords me some degree of satisfaction in contemplating a favorable reception of this letter, and that I am unprepared to receive the reward of my temerity; but having done my duty, I submit, regardless of consequences.

With ardent prayers that love may abound more and more, to the mutual healing of the breaches that have been made amongst us, and that the cause of humanity may prevail toward each other, and thus promote the object for which we have so long labored, I am

Thy faithful and true friend, E. N.

PHILADELPHIA, 3d mo. 1840.

From the Emancipator.

Amendments to the Constitution.

Article X, requires that all amendments shall be submitted, in writing, to the Executive Committee, previous to the annual meeting. As we understand the article, the proposed amendments should be reduced to writing, in the precise terms in which they are to be adopted or rejected. Two propositions are before the Committee, though one of them is not in form.

1st Proposition—That the words, 'and shall be entitled to vote at the meetings,' be omitted in article IV.

Also: That the IXth Article be stricken out, and the following substitute be proposed. 'Any Anti-Slavery Society or Association, founded on the same principles, may become Auxiliary to this Society. Each State Auxiliary to appoint delegates not exceeding the representations of such State in the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States, and where more than one Auxiliary exists in a State, the delegates shall be equally divided, where the number is even; but where the number is odd, the Society having the largest number of Auxiliaries shall be entitled to the majority. The delegates thus appointed, and they only, shall be entitled to vote at the annual and special meetings of the Society.'

2d Proposition, by the Windham County, (Conn.) Anti-Slavery Society—That the VIth Article, which empowers the Board of Managers to elect the Executive Committee, be amended so as to leave their election directly in the hands of the Society.

A third proposition was placed in the hands of the recording secretary, to be laid before the committee, during the special meeting of the society, in January; but by some means it has been mislaid, and cannot now be found. We hope the brother who proposed it will bring it forward again. It is understood that several other plans are to be laid before the Executive Committee. The Constitution does not make it indispensable that proposed amendments should be published. Consequently, any amendments that shall be laid before the Executive Committee at any meeting before the annual meeting of the Society, will be entitled to consideration.

EVERY MAN has a right to employ his productive means, in whatever they consist, in a mode to insure the largest returns, or most consistent with his notions of propriety. His only limit is the regard which is due to the rights of his fellow men. The faculties of both body and mind were given for that purpose. The strongest laws of his nature, and every condition of his being have reference to this result. To labor in the vocation in which he is most apt, to apply his agency where it may purchase the best recompense, or to choose that form of exertion most consistent with his highest good, is the chief design of the economy in which he is placed. *The interposition of authority may be called government, but is robbery and fraud!* It despoils him of property to which he has the firmest claim that reason and justice can give. In form of law, it abrogates the highest law, and *makes the grossest tyranny the daily duty of the State!* It strips industry of its motive, by disturbing the amount and certainty of its reward. It takes from enterprise its energy, by forcing it into channels where its efforts are fruitless. Excited by unhealthy stimulous, the body politic staggers under intoxication, to fall the weak, miserable victim of debauchery and excess. *One portion of the community is bled to the last stages of depletion—another is pampered to the point of plethora and apoplexy*; or, both, shaking under the incessant attacks of alternate health and disease, are soon exhausted of strength and die. Thus it creates unnecessary distinctions. It fixes one portion of society in forced dependence upon another—and makes over the prosperity of the many to the arbitrary disposal of the few! Overgrown wealth, with its ever attendant miseries of luxury, oppression and vice, shoots up in rank luxuriance, amid the barrenest poverty and distress. The splendid palace, vocal with the shouts of merriment, looks proudly down on hovels where sit cheerless, haggard, hunger and heart-withering care. An aristocracy most odious, *proud, overbearing, insolent and ignorant*, strikes deep root into the soil. The poor, through wretchedness, are filled with jealousy and discontent. The opposition of mutually dependent classes festers into hate, and degenerates into acrimonious strife; and society is dissevered and rent, while its morals perish in the same common catastrophe which sinks its prosperity and peace.—*Democratic Review.*

THE MILITIA LAW. The Militia bill, which was passed by our Legislature, last week, and is now a law, provides for the enrollment of every able bodied white citizen, between the ages of 18 and 45 years.

It is made the duty of the Assessors, to prepare a list annually of all the names of persons liable to be enrolled, and to place it in the hands of the clerk of every city or town in the Commonwealth. Annual returns of the militia thus enrolled to be transmitted to the Adjutant General.

The militia thus enrolled shall be subject to no active duty whatever, except in case of war, invasion, or to prevent invasion.

The *active militia* of the Commonwealth shall be composed of volunteers, not to exceed the number of ten thousand men, retaining all the volunteer companies, with their officers, now raised and organized. And every officer and soldier shall receive five dollars per annum, provided he performs *all* the duties required by the act. The officers of each company to be one captain and three lieutenants.

The arms of the volunteer companies are to be furnished by the State, and the armories are to be furnished by the towns.

There shall be three parades in each year:—one on the last Wednesday in May, at 9 o'clock in the forenoon, for inspection, &c.; the other two at the option of the commander. There is also to be an inspection and review in each year after the second Thursday in September.

Delinquents are to forfeit the annual pay, and to pay four dollars for each day's neglect to perform duty at parades.

The Mayor of any city, a Justice of any Court of Record, or the Sheriff of the County, may issue a precept, requiring any number of troops to aid the civil authority in suppressing the violence of any mob or riot, and any officer failing to appear, or disobeying orders, shall forfeit fifty dollars.—*Salem Gazette.*

CHINA. One cannot but regard the present condition of matters in China with intense interest.—The Emperor, with a due regard for the welfare of his subjects, is determined to prohibit the importation of opium—a deleterious drug, which produces upon the physical and moral system the most melancholy effects. The English traders who derive great pecuniary advantage from the sale of this intoxicating medicine to the infatuated Chinese, are determined to prosecute the vile traffic, and to thrust their poison on the Chinese, in spite of the edicts of the Emperor—and thereby issue is joined—and an entire interruption of the trade, and perhaps a bloody war, may be expected.

In this quarrel, who can help sympathizing with the injured Chinese, and wish them success in their operations against their *Christian* opponents, whom the Chinese, with a remarkable degree of propriety, stigmatize as 'barbarians'?

We cannot believe that the English government will justify the conduct pursued by the British authorities at Canton.—*Mer. Journal.*

The number of revolutions the paddle wheels of the Bitish Queen performs in coming from Portsmouth to New-York, is now ascertained with great accuracy by means of a clock attached to the machinery. During her recent voyage from Portsmouth the number of revolutions were *two hundred and ninety one thousand eight hundred and forty eight.* Diameter of paddle wheels thirty-one feet.

Abolition Candidates for President and Vice President.—We learn from the Albany Argus, that the Abolition Convention at Albany last week, nominated Mr. J. G. BIRNEY for President, and a Mr. EARLE of Pennsylvania, for Vice President of the United States. We are glad of this, because it will now be distinctly understood that although many firm and consistent Whigs are conscientiously abolitionists, the political abolitionists are not Whigs. A contemporary well observes, that, 'they are not wanted as adjuncts to the Whig party. Their support, had it been temporarily afforded, so long as it might suit their own views, could not be relied on in any case of emergency. They have political objects of their own to promote, entirely at variance with those of the Whig party. If the Whig party cannot stand without them, it cannot stand securely. They are therefore stronger without than with such coadjutors.'

We know well the force of these truths. The Whigs of this State have been often cursed with the aid of their auxiliaries;—political loafers and mercenaries, who join any party which offers to them the best chance of personal advantage, and who never fail to create more trouble to the cause they actively espouse than all its open enemies.—Wherever mercenary politicians are tolerated, political factions will always be found. Religion and temperance; infidelity and intemperance; moral reform and jockey clubs, each is made the nucleus of new factions claiming some advantage and distinction separate from all others, recognized by the political party to which their aid is conceded.

Now the principles of the Whig party are broad enough to embrace, and liberal enough to include every sincere friend of his country—every one who has at heart her prosperity, and the prosperity of her free institutions. The only safe policy is for all who have in view the one common object, *the greatest good of the greatest number*, to support Whig principles and measures; they are the only safe foundation of freemen's rights and privileges—by them and them only we live and die freemen.—*N. H. Statesman.*

Gen. Harrison's pro-slavery sentiments are thus set forth in a letter written by Mr. Rives:

'The most prominent of these charges, which is still wantonly repeated, is that Gen. Harrison is an *abolitionist*. I have recently investigated with care, all the evidences of his principles and conduct on this as well as other important public questions, and I am thoroughly convinced, that if there be one man who has entitled himself to the gratitude of the South beyond all others, by the noble and disinterested zeal he has at all times manifested, the sacrifices he has freely made, the single-heartedness with which he has exposed himself to persecution and political proscription in defence of the Constitutional rights of the South, and the peace and safety of their firesides, against all interference, whether of *fanaticism or political ambition*, that man is WM. HENRY HARRISON of Ohio.

You have doubtless read the speech made by him at Vincennes, in the State of Indiana, in 1835, in which, in the face of a non-slaveholding audience, he gallantly *volunteered* to defend the rights and interests of the South. Where can be found, even in the productions of any southern statesman, a more energetic and unsparing denunciation of the schemes of the *abolitionists*? He pronounces them to be 'weak, presumptuous and unconstitutional,'—'illegal, persecuting and dangerous,' and after depicting in glowing language the fatal consequences to which they must lead, he calls upon his audience with indignant earnestness, to '*frown* upon measures which are to produce results so much to be deprecated.' He contends that *discussions* upon the subject in non-slaveholding states, tending in their consequences, as they do, to jeopard the peace and impair the rights of the slaveholding states, *are an abuse of freedom of speech and of the press*, in violation of the spirit and pervading design of the Constitution.

American Genius.—Our readers recollect the interest excited some time ago by the display of extraordinary talents in moulding busts and making casts by a humble mechanic of Cincinnati.

The following extract from a gentleman now travelling in Europe, will justify the pride which his countrymen have expressed of his talents.

'Powers, from Cincinnati, has astonished all Italy with his heads; and Italians of the best and most practised taste have declared to a friend of mine, that they have never seen any equal to him. He has heads finished or finishing, of several of our distinguished men—Baldwin, the engineer—M'Duffie, Calhoun, Webster and others; the likenesses true, to the smallest wrinkles, and beautifully sculptured. Indeed this Powers has aroused all the sculptors of Italy; or, as a friend of mine remarked the other day, waked them up, to put forth all their might and skill, to keep within calling distance of him. This strife for perfection in this noble art, is producing the happiest results.'

Isaac T. Hopper has published a pamphlet of 39 pages, 8 vo., giving a full account of the iniquitous proceedings of the police officers, Merritt, Peck and others, in the celebrated DARG case, including the trial of Barney Corse and the subsequent abandonment of the prosecution.

It details a most iniquitous and oppressive course of proceeding on the part of Merritt and his associates, and an equal firmness of purpose and consistent integrity and humanity, in Hopper, Corse, Gibbons and Ruggles. The conduct of 12 Grand Jurors, in finding an indictment against four respectable citizens without a particle of evidence inculpating them, but solely on the ground that they were abolitionists, was directly in the face of their oath, 'to present no one from envy, hatred or malice,' but to 'present all things truly, as they should come to their knowledge.' We hope the members of the Legislature may see this pamphlet before they pass a bill for putting the whole police power of the city, irresponsibly, into the hands of that band of men.—*Emancipator.*

Trial for Concealing Slaves.—In the New Orleans Criminal Court, on the 29th ult., the captain of the ship Tecumseh was tried on an indictment containing two counts, one charging him with concealing two slaves, the property of Mr. Latalat, on board his ship—and the other with permitting them to be concealed. The slaves were found on board of the ship of which the defendant is master. The testimony failed in establishing against the defendant the guilty purpose or knowledge charged in the indictment, and the jury returned a verdict of not guilty, without leaving their box. A civil suit, entered by Mr. Latalat against the defendant, is still pending, in which the damages are laid at $5000. The negroes, at the time they left their master, robbed him of some three or four thousand dollars worth of jewelry, which has not yet been recovered.

COMPLIMENT. The N. Y. Sun, a great *friend* to theatres, very properly remarks, 'there are twenty pairs of eyes in the theatre where there is one intelligent mind.' To this we take the liberty to add—where there is not 'one' virtuous heart.—A rather 'slender concern,' we think, to make so much parade of splendid houses and '*celebrated*' actors and actresses, &c. &c. We are pleased that 'the Sun' is shedding some rays of light into this 'dark profound,' the theatre; but we fear there are spots even on 'the Sun.' To speak soberly, it is a disgrace to *enlightened* America, that she tolerates a single theatre—that *broadway* to hell.—*Reflector.*

We believe it is not pretended that the abolitionists received any votes from the Democratic side worth noticing, though they made use of the name of a democrat upon their Representative Ticket.—*The South may see from this* which party it is that countenances and supports this crusade against their domestic institutions.—*N. H. Gazette.*

The Washington Globe asserts, in substance, that the treatment of slaves in the South is ameliorating, that they are growing in intelligence, and improved in their looks. If so, the less the palliation for continuing them longer in slavery. And, if so, then the assertions of our opponents, that we have rendered the condition of the slave worse, is untrue.—*Penn. Freeman.*

THE BLOODHOUNDS. The Tallahasse Floridian says,—'We regret that Mr. Poinsett has taken the course he has about the dogs. He is mistaken. They were *intended* by the people, at whose instance Gov. Call imported them, to '*worry*,' to '*hunt*,' to '*bite*,' to '*tear to pieces*,' all the red devils they can catch.

From a late Barbadoes paper, it appears that the number of convictions before magistrates, for small offences, has been but about one-third as great during the first year of freedom as during the last of the apprenticeship system.—*Penn. Freeman.*

ANTI-SLAVERY PRESS!

DOW and JACKSON,

(SUCCESSORS TO ISAAC KNAPP,)

BOOK, CARD, and FANCY JOB PRINTERS,

14 *Devonshire Street,*

WOULD respectfully inform their friends and the public, that they have materials for doing all kinds of work in their line in the best manner, and can do it on the most reasonable terms. They have just added to their establishment one of the LATEST IMPPOVED IRON POWER PRESSES, which are well known to turn off work in a better manner, and with greater rapidity, than any press now in use.

Circulars, Reports, Addresses, &c. executed at short notice. Anti-slavery friends are particularly invited to call. Boston, 1840.—15tf.

COLE'S PARAGON.

THOMAS COLE returns his thanks to the public, for the liberal patronage he has heretofore received, and solicits a continuance of the same, at his

HAIR CUTTING & CURLING ESTABLISHMENT

in Atkinson Street, 3d door from Milk St. where he would be happy to wait on all who favor him with their custom.

Particular attention paid to Cutting Children's Hair. PERFUMERY of all kinds kept for sale.

March 6.

EMIGRATION TO BRITISH GUIANA.

A first class vessel of about 250 tons will sail from the port of Boston for BRITISH GUIANA, on or about the 10th of April next. This vessel will be victualled and fitted up, (UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF A COMMITTEE) by the Agent of the 'Immigration Society of British Guiana,' *exclusively* for the accommodation of those free persons of color, who may be desirous of emigrating to that Colony. They will, with their families and baggage, be conveyed there FREE OF ANY EXPENSE, and be provided GRATIS with LODGING AND FOOD, by the Directors of the Imigration Society, until they have an opportunity of obtaining SATISFACTORY EMPLOYMENT *No demand will be made upon them either for their passage or maintenance, as above stated; and they will be at liberty, on their arrival in Guiana, to choose the employment they may prefer, or deem most advantageous to themselves.*

They will be under the special care of a GOVERNMENT-OFFICER, appointed by the Executive, whose duty it is, as Emigration Agent, to furnish all emigrants arriving in the Colony with every necessary advice and assistance.

FREE, INDUSTRIOUS PERSONS OF COLOR, who are desirous of emigrating to British Guiana, where they will be certain to meet with lucrative employment, and enjoy equal social privileges with the white inhabitants, will leave their names before the 31st of March with Messrs. John T. Hilton, Thomas Cole, W. S. Jennings, Joseph W. Butler, J. G. Barbadoes, or either of them, who will furnish all necessary information.

As it is considered desirable to maintain (as far as possible) an equality in the number of the sexes, men with families will be preferred, although no objections will be made to unmarried persons of either sex. EDWARD CARBERY,

Agent of the Immigration Society of British Guiana.

Boston, Feb. 18, 1840.

BRITISH GUIANA

Edward Carbery, Esq. Agent of the Immigration Society of British Guiana, having appointed Messrs John T. Hilton, Thomas Cole, W. S. Jennings, J. W. Butler, and James G. Barbadoes, of this city, a committee to carry the objects of that Society into effect, they have consented to act in that capacity, and accordingly are now ready to receive and register the names of all free colored persons, of good character and industrious habits, who may desire to avail themselves of the advantages of a settlement on that free soil—and also to give such information respecting the immigration plan as may be desired. The transportation to the colony will be free of expense to the emigrants.

All letters must be post paid, and addressed to the secretary, No. 2, Court-st. Boston.

JAMES G. BARBADOES, *Secretary.*

Boston, Feb. 21, 1840.

The vessel above advertised will not sail until on or about the 26th of April.

Dr. Hitchcock, Dentist,

No. 98 Court Street, corner of Stoddard Street, Boston,

Extracting, Filling and Setting Teeth.

Extracting.—Dr. H. has an Improved Extractor for removing teeth, which is superior and far preferable to all other instruments. Its popularity and excellence require no other recommendation than the fact, that during the past year it has removed nearly *Two Thousand Teeth.* Extracting 25 cents.

Filling Teeth.---The advertiser has paid particular attention to the one and only correct method of filling carious teeth with gold, and as he received the *premium at the late Fair in this city,* for his specimens, he will load decayed teeth and warrant them Price $1.

Artificial Teeth.---Persons desirous of having artificial teeth, can have the Mineral or unchangeable teeth, which are unsurpassed both as to their perfectly natural appearance and utility. Single pivot teeth, $2, and on gold plate lower than any other place in the city or country. Half or whole setts furnished on very low terms.

Individuals are invited to call at office, and examine specimens. Dr. H. is permitted to refer to

WM. LLOYD GARRISON,
AMASA WALKER, Esq.
Dr. THOMAS BARNES.

DESPOTISM IN AMERICA.

Just published, and for sale by Whipple and Damrell, No. 9, Cornhill, DESPOTISM IN AMERICA, or an Inquiry into the Nature and Results of the Slaveholding System in the United States. By the author of 'Archy Moore.

—ALSO—

THE SLAVE: or Memoir of Archy Moore. New Edition. Two volumes in one.

The price of these works is 50 cents per single copy, $5 per dozen. They are beautifully printed on fine paper, and neatly bound with cloth backs.

—ALSO—

By the same author, just published and for sale as above, Banks, Banking and Paper Currencies, in three parts: Part I., History of Banks and Paper Money. Part II., Argument for open competition in Banking. Part III., Apology for one dollar notes.

Boston, Feb. 14. 7tf.

TO ADVERTISERS. Heretofore it has not been our wish to obtain advertising patronage to any considerable extent, believing that our subscribers would be better satisfied to have the paper filled almost exclusively with reading matter. By the advice of many of our friends, however, we are now induced to open our columns, to a moderate extent, to such persons as may choose to use them as an advertising medium. As our paper has a wide circulation among people of all political parties and nearly every religious denomination, and as our subscribers are confessedly among the most enterprising and energetic portion of community, we can confidently assure advertisers, whether friends or opposers of abolitionism, that they will find it for their interest to avail themselves of the opportunity now presented of enlarging the number of their customers. Book-sellers of all classes, whether literary, scientific or religious, will find the Liberator a medium of advertising quite as advantageous as any of the religious papers of the day. Especially will they find it for their interest to advertise in our columns all works which relate in any manner to the reforms of the day, whether physical or moral; since no class of people feel so lively an interest in all these subjects as the readers of anti-slavery papers. Mechanics, also, of all classes, who do business in the city, and merchants engaged in the retail trade, will find it for their advantage to advertise in the Liberator. We invite them to do so. Our terms, it will be seen by reference to the first page, are very reasonable.

We confidently look for patronage, from our friends at least, if not from our opponents. tf.

Mr. Beckwith's Family School,

AT WEST NEWTON, MASS.

THE Rev. Geo. C. Beckwith will open, on the second Wednesday in May, his FAMILY SCHOOL, designed to receive lads over six years of age, and not only instruct them in all the branches preparatory to business or college, but superintend with parental care the formation of their entire character, intellectual, social and moral. The number is not to exceed twenty; and to them all, he will, as far as possible, act the part of a parent. The location, eight miles from Boston, on the Worcester rail-road, and accessible almost every hour of the day during the warm season, is in point of health, pleasantness, and freedom from bad influences, one of the most eligible in New England.

TERMS. For tuition, board, washing, fuel and lights, $40 a quarter. Only two terms, each 22 weeks, commencing permanently on the first Monday in May and November.

Further particulars, together with ample testimonials from the best sources, may be had on application to the Principal, and Circulars at No. 9 Cornhill, Boston

REFERENCES. Hon William Jackson, Prof. B. B. Hackett, Seth Davis, Esq., Rev. Lyman Gilbert, Rev. A. L. Baury, Newton, Amasa Walker, Esq. Wilkins Cogswell, D. D., Rev. Baron Stow, Boston; Hon. Simon Greenleaf, Cambridge; Rev. Milton Badger, New York.

Boarding School for Young Ladies,

AT CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

BY MR. AND MRS. MACK.

THE Academical Year commences the second Monday in September, and consists of four quarters of eleven weeks each. The vacation at the close of the year is five weeks; the others one week each.

Mr. and Mrs. MACK have been engaged in teaching several years, and devote themselves to the parental education of their pupils. They have a house built expressly for the accommodation of about TWENTY PUPILS, in a pleasant and healthy situation. They are assisted by the best teachers of Music, Drawing, and modern languages, and by assistant teachers who reside in the family.

TERMS.

BOARD—(Due in advance,) for one year, $150. For one quarter—summer or fall, $45—winter or spring, $50.

TUITION, (per quarter) English or Classical branches, $15; Instrumental Music, with use of instrument, $20; cultivation of the voice and singing, (teacher, Miss YOUNG, who boards in the family,) $5; Drawing, $8; painting in water colors, $15; teacher, Mr. VAUTIN, from England. Teacher of Italian and French, Mr. LANZA, from Italy. Miss CUSHING, Assistant Principal. Miss SANGER, Assistant Pupil.

D. MACK, *Principal.*

Cambridge, March 10, 1840. 11eptf.

HENRY A. NEWHALL,

45 Hanover Street,

(Under White's Bonnet Rooms,)

BOSTON:

RETAIL dealer in Calicoes, Sheetings, Shirtings, Summer Cloths, Broad Cloths, Cassimeres, Satinetts, Flannels, White Goods, Embroideries, Black Silks, Hosiery and Gloves, and various other articles usually kept in a

DRY GOODS STORE.

Calicoes by the pound for patch-work, at wholesale or retail.

N. B. Believing that the custom of asking one price and taking another cannot be practised without *deception*, the subscriber has decided to practise it no more. It will be his design to offer goods at the lowest market price, from which there will be no abatement.

He would respectfully solicit the patronage not only of purchasers living in the city, but also of those from the country. H. A. N.

March, 1840. 12tf.

H. L. DEVEREUX,

Book and Job Printer,

No. 4, Water Street, Boston.

THE OFFICE is furnished with good type of various sizes, suitable for Book and Pamphlet work, and with all the fashionable Job Type from the principal Type Foundries, in the United States, for Cards and Fancy Jobs. March 6.

NOTICE.

JAMES TOLMAN, of the late firm of Macomber and Tolman, has taken the store recently occupied by Winckley and Dickenson, No. 6. Congress square, Congress Street, nearly opposite the old stand.

He will constantly be supplied with a complete assortment of first rate MERCHANT TAILORS GOODS, which will be sold at the very lowest prices.

By particular personal attention to all departments of the business, he will be able to execute all orders in a perfect and satisfactory manner. The patronage of his friends and of the public is respectfully solicited. March 13.

GENTEEL BOARD.

At 24 Franklin Place, near the Odeon.

FOUR lower and several upper chambers will be vacated by gentlemen resuming their country seats on the first of April. Several single rooms may be taken immediately. The suits of rooms are convenient for families and others desiring a quiet, central and pleasant situation for a permanent residence—possessing the advantages of a large yard, and plenty of good aqueduct and well water, bathing room, shower bath, ect. Strangers visiting the city, preferring private accommodations, are invited to call.

13-tf. J. E. FULLER.

ONE OF THE LARGEST and best selected assortments of Pocket Books and Wallets is offered for sale by the subscriber. All the articles have been manufactured or selected by Mr. Smith, one of the most experienced manufacturers, and are warranted of the best manufacture and material.

Traders are solicited to examine, as the whole will be offered at the lowest prices.

16-4t. A. S. JORDAN, No. 2 Milk street.

NOTICE.

NOTICE is hereby given, that all persons are warned against hiring or harboring EDWARD W. JOHNSON, a youth 12 years old, who has left his parents, to seek employment elsewhere—where, his grieved friends are ignorant. Said youth varies little from 5 feet in height, and is of what is called a sambo complexion. He wore off grey sattinet pantaloons, brown jacket and black cloth cap—also thick cow-hide boots, and plaid cloak. He left his parents once before, and passed himself off for a fugitive slave among abolitionists. Whoever will confer the favor of addressing a line to the office of the Liberator, informing his parents where he may be obtained, shall be suitably rewarded.

CLARISSA S. JOHNSON.

Boston, April 14, 1840.—16-2t.

NEW BOOKS.

JUST PUBLISHED, and for sale at 25, Cornhill THE SLAVE: or the Memoirs of Archy Moore. Price 50 cents.

DESPOTISM IN AMERICA, by the author of Archy Moore. Price 50 cents.

LECTURES ON BRITISH INDIA, by GEORGE THOMPSON, with a Preface by W. L. Garrison. Price 50 cents.

AGENTS OF THE LIBERATOR.

[SEE FIRST PAGE.]

MASSACHUSETTS.—William Loring, *Sandwich*;—B. Freeman, *Brewster*;—Ezekiel Thatcher, *Barnstable and Yarmouth*;—R. F. Wollcut, *Dennis*;—George O. Harmon, *Harwichhill*;—Jo